

# THE LETTER-BOOK OF JOHN VISCOUNT MORDAUNT 1658–1660

EDITED FOR THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
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# CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	vii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS . . . . .	xxiv
THE LETTER-BOOK . . . . .	I
APPENDIX: NOTE ON SIR RICHARD WILLIS . . . . .	183
INDEX . . . . .	185

FRONTISPIECE :

*Reproduction of the engraved portrait, 11½ in. by 8½ in., by William Faithorne (see Introduction, page xxiii).*





## INTRODUCTION

THE letter-book of John Viscount Mordaunt was purchased in 1892 by the John Rylands Library, Manchester, among the Spencer manuscripts of Earl Spencer of Althorp. It is catalogued '*English MSS. 55, Spencer 19140, ante 1669*'. It is bound in leather and consists of 245 folios on vellum, 365 by 245 mm. On the back it is entitled, '*Ld Mordaunts State Papers, 1658, 1659, 1660, 1661*'. The frontispiece runs 'Materialls for History, being a transcript of the originall commissions, instructions, orders, debates, letters, messages, military, ecclesiasticall, civill, in the yeares 1658, 1659, 1660, 1661, directed to the Lord Viscount Mordaunt and to other the commissioners, whose names are inserted in the plenepotentiary'. The letter-book begins on 6/16 May 1658, and ends on 18/28 January 1659-60. There are no letters of 1661. It is evidently unfinished.

It is written in a fine clerly hand of the period, not in that of Lord Mordaunt. But on a blank sheet at the end, in his hand is this entry: 'Osmond Mordaunt borne at Villa Cary<sup>1</sup> 1 Oct. 13 1669, neere 5 of the clocke in the morning being Wensday'. Osmond Mordaunt was the 4th son of Lord Mordaunt by Elizabeth Carey, younger daughter and co-heiress of the Hon. Thomas Carey,<sup>2</sup> 2nd son of Robert Carey, 1st earl of Monmouth. 'Villa Carey' was the Mordaunts' house at Parsons Green, Fulham, later known as Peterborough House. In her diary,<sup>3</sup> published privately in 1856, Lady Mordaunt gave God thanks in October 1669 for the birth of her son Osmond, though she omitted the day of his birth. Lord Mordaunt evidently supervised the preparation of the manuscript; the signature 'J. E. M.' to no. 11 is in his hand, and so too is a note before no. 57 that two more sheets are to be added. But if Lord Mordaunt supervised the preparation of the volume, he left no note as to why it was begun and left unfinished.

The volume remained in the Mordaunt family till about 1809. In 1797 it was owned by Lieutenant-general Osbert Mordaunt of St. James's Place, London, for in it is a loose letter dated 25 March 1797, from Sir William Musgrave to him, thanking him for the loan of it. Lieutenant-general Mordaunt was descended from Lewis, 3rd son of John Viscount Mordaunt. He died unmarried 13 February 1809, but had authorized the 2nd Earl Spencer, in his will, to select some volumes from his library.<sup>4</sup> It is probably then that the manuscript passed into the possession of the Spencer

<sup>1</sup> *Villa Carey* was probably built by Thomas Carey on the site of an earlier house owned by Sir Thomas Smith, whose daughter and heiress Margaret he married (D. Lysons, *Environs of London* (1795), ii. 362).

<sup>2</sup> E. G. Reilly, *Historical anecdotes of the families of the Boleynes, Careys, Mordaunts, Hamiltons and Jocelyns* (1839), p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> *The private diarie of Elizabeth Viscountess Mordaunt* (ed. Earl of Roden, 1856), pp. 128-9.

<sup>4</sup> Dibdin, *Aedes Althorpianae* (1822), p. 188.

family who were related to the Mordaunts. George, 2nd Earl Spencer,<sup>1</sup> was the grandson of Anna Maria Mordaunt, daughter of Lewis Mordaunt by his second marriage, and wife of Stephen Poyntz. Georgiana, the Dowager Countess Spencer, widow of John, 1st Earl Spencer, compiled an index, which is on loose sheets in the volume; she headed it 'Manuscript in the hands of General Mordaunt', and put at the end 'This catalogue of the letters was made out by Georgiana Countess Spencer, 1796'.

The letter-book was seen by Francis Peck, the antiquarian (1692-1743), and he intended to publish it. In 1740 in his *Memoirs of the life and actions of Oliver Cromwell*, he announced his intention to publish some *New memoirs of the restoration of Charles II containing copies of 246 original letters and other papers, all written 1658, 1659 and 1660, none of them ever yet printed*. Peck died 9 July 1743,<sup>2</sup> having copied only 47 of the letters, and the letter-book remained unpublished. Peck's papers were acquired<sup>3</sup> by Sir Thomas Cave of Stanford and descended to Lord Braye of Stanford Park, Rugby. In 1887 they were noticed by Mr. H. C. Maxwell-Lyte in his report on Lord Braye's manuscripts for the Historical Manuscripts Commission.<sup>4</sup> He realized that they filled gaps in the *Clarendon State Papers*, and printed in full those not in that collection. But he was evidently not aware of the whereabouts of the letter-book from which Peck had transcribed, or of its history.

On examining the Mordaunt letter-book, I thought it might be the volume from which Peck had copied. By the kindness of Lord Braye, I was allowed to examine Peck's transcripts at Stanford Park, and was confirmed in my opinion. Peck described the volume as 'MS. Mordaunt, penes W. Cowper', but he did not say where he saw it, or how it came to be in the keeping of William Cowper. William Cowper, clerk of the parliament, died<sup>5</sup> 14 February 1740. He was not related to the Mordaunt family, and I do not know why the Mordaunt MS. was in his keeping.

Peck had begun to transcribe by 1734, as he noted 'This Lord Mordaunt was the father of the present earl of Peterborough, who is living A.D. 1734', a reference to Charles, 3rd earl of Peterborough, who died 25 October 1735. Peck transcribed the letters in numbered paragraphs, though they are not so in the MS. and he added references to Clarendon, Ludlow, Rapin and other authorities. His page references correspond with the folios of the manuscript. The Mordaunt manuscript is the volume he intended to publish, but he did not note whether he had the permission of the Mordaunt family to do so.

A still more difficult problem is to trace the originals of the letters transcribed in the letter-book. They number 248, but three are duplicated. Of the 245 letters, 33 have been printed wholly or in part in the *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii. Of these, the original, or a draft, or a copy, is among the Clarendon MSS. in the Bodleian Library. In 21 cases, the original or draft or copy is among the unpublished Clarendon MSS. and has been calendared in vol. iv of the *Calendar of Clarendon State Papers* (1932). Six letters are among the Flanders correspondence in the Public

<sup>1</sup> Collins, *Peerage of England* (ed. Brydges), iii (1812), 329.

<sup>2</sup> Nichols, *Literary anecdotes of the eighteenth century*, i (1812), 512.

<sup>3</sup> Nichols, *Illustrations of the literary history of the eighteenth century*, v (1828), 370.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. MSS. Comm., 10th Report, App. vi, pp. 188 et seq.

<sup>5</sup> Nichols, *Illustrations of the literary history of the eighteenth century*, v (1828), 356.

Record Office, and are calendared in the *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, 1659–60. Six more are printed in Carte, *Ormonde papers* (1739), from the originals among the Carte MSS. in the Bodleian Library, and one, no. 176, is among the unpublished Carte MSS. But 178 letters remain which are only to be found in the Mordaunt MS. Of these, 34 have been printed in the Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Report*, App. vi (1887), pp. 188–216.

Every effort has been made to trace the originals of these 178 letters but without success. Colonel Nigel Stopford-Sackville of Drayton House, Northants, kindly permitted me to examine the large collection of papers at Drayton relating to the Mordaunt family. Unfortunately the missing Mordaunt letters were not among them. I have also enquired of other members of the Mordaunt family, but without success. Sir Robert Soame Jocelyn, 8th earl of Roden, of Merchiston, Larne, co. Antrim, who is descended from Anne, youngest daughter of John Viscount Mordaunt, kindly informed me that he had no Mordaunt letters of that date in his possession. I can only hope that the publication of the letter-book may lead to the discovery of the untraced original letters.

The letter-book adds considerably to our knowledge of John Mordaunt and his family. John Mordaunt was the younger son of Sir John Mordaunt, 1st earl of Peterborough, by Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of William Howard, Baron Howard of Effingham. He was born at Drayton House, Northants, on 18 June and baptized in Lowick Church on 20 June 1626.<sup>1</sup> The Mordaunts were a Bedfordshire family, settled before 1147 near Turvey.<sup>2</sup> They resided at Turvey till the marriage of John, 1st Lord Mordaunt to Elizabeth Vere, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Henry Vere of Drayton and Addington, Northants, brought them Drayton Manor.<sup>3</sup> The medieval manor-house of Drayton, dating from about 1328, became their chief residence, to be enlarged and beautified by later generations. By shrewd politics and profitable marriages the Mordaunts rose steadily. The 2nd Lord Mordaunt (d. 1571) was a Knight of the Bath; his son Lewis, one of the judges of Mary Stuart<sup>4</sup>; but Henry the 4th Lord Mordaunt, a fervent catholic, was imprisoned for suspected complicity in the Gunpowder Plot, and fined £10,000.<sup>5</sup> Fortunately his son John,

<sup>1</sup> G.E.C., *The complete peerage*, ix (1936), 200

<sup>2</sup> Dr G. H. Fowler in vol. xi (1927) of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, showed that the charters published in Halstead, *Succinct genealogies* (1685), were falsifications of early Mordaunt charters at Drayton by Henry Mordaunt, 2nd earl of Peterborough, who, with the Rev. Richard Rands, rector of Turvey (1669–99), wrote the volume. But the genuine charters at Drayton show the Mordaunt family settled near Turvey or in it before 1147.

<sup>3</sup> V.C.H., *Northants*, iii (1930), 231, 238. I am indebted to Colonel Stopford-Sackville for letting me see his privately published (1937) book, *A short historical account of the ownership, architecture and contents of Drayton House*, and to Miss Joan Wake for the loan of the book. Drayton remained in the Mordaunt family till 17 Nov. 1705, when it passed by the bequest of Lady Mary Germaine, daughter and heiress of Henry Mordaunt, 2nd earl of Peterborough, to her 2nd husband Sir John Germaine. He bequeathed it to his 2nd wife Lady Elizabeth Berkeley and she left it, at her death in Dec. 1769, to her nephew Lord George Sackville, from whom it descended to its present owner, Colonel Stopford-Sackville.

<sup>4</sup> Collins, *Peerage of England* (ed. Brydges), iii 316.

<sup>5</sup> Hist. MSS. Comm., *Hatfield House*, part xvii (1938), pp. 514, 528, 626, part xviii (1940), pp. 163, 421. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1603–10, pp. 274, 295. Halstead, *Succinct genealogies of the noble and ancient house of . . . Mordaunt of Turvey* (1685).

the 5th Lord Mordaunt, won the favour of James I,<sup>1</sup> who remitted the unpaid residue of the fine. He was converted to protestantism<sup>2</sup> by Archbishop Usher of Armagh and was created<sup>3</sup> on 29 February 1627-8, 1st earl of Peterborough. He married an heiress, Elizabeth Howard, only daughter of William Baron Howard of Effingham, a woman of haughty temper and strong puritan opinions, a patroness of Archbishop Usher.<sup>4</sup>

The earl of Peterborough supported the parliament in 1642, raised a regiment and was General<sup>5</sup> of the Ordnance under the earl of Essex. He died of consumption 19 June<sup>6</sup> 1643 and was buried at Turvey. His elder son Henry, the 2nd earl of Peterborough (1624?-97), changed to the King's side in April 1643, was wounded at Newbury,<sup>7</sup> and followed the King to the end of 1646. He also took part in the rising of 1648<sup>8</sup> in Surrey and then went into exile, living for some time at Antwerp. He returned to England, compounded<sup>9</sup> for his estates and took no further part in royalist activities, of which his mother disapproved.

John Mordaunt, the younger brother, the subject of the letter-book, was under age in 1642, being educated in France and Italy. In 1648 he raised 200 horse for the rising in Surrey<sup>10</sup> and took part in it. He accompanied his brother into exile and was received at the Hague by Elizabeth of Bohemia.<sup>11</sup> His movements after 1648 are uncertain, but he was in England in 1652 and imprisoned<sup>12</sup> in the Tower for challenging Brian Cockayne to a duel.

On 2 May 1654 Hyde wrote<sup>13</sup> accepting Mordaunt's offer of service, but there is no evidence that he rose in 1655. In 1656, or early in 1657, he married<sup>14</sup> Elizabeth Carey, younger daughter and co-heiress of the Hon. Thomas Carey, 2nd son of Robert Carey, 1st earl of Monmouth, described by Clarendon<sup>15</sup> as 'a young beautiful lady of a very loyal spirit and notable vivacity of wit and humour'. Her private diary shows her sincere piety; John Evelyn<sup>16</sup> bears testimony to her life-long charity, while her letters in the Clarendon MSS. and in the Mordaunt MS. show her devotion to her husband and to the King. In 1657 John Mordaunt was dependent on his mother, who allowed him £500 a year from her estates of Bletchingley and Reigate.<sup>17</sup> She disapproved of his royalist activities and treated his wife harshly.<sup>18</sup> In 1657

<sup>1</sup> Drayton House MSS., 17 James I Pardon and release to John Lord Mordaunt by James I of a fine in the Star Chamber on Henry Lord Mordaunt.

<sup>2</sup> R. Parr, *Life of James Usher, late Lord Archbishop of Armagh* (1686), p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1627-28, p. 590.

<sup>4</sup> Halstead, *op. cit.*, p. 349, and Parr, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 64.

<sup>5</sup> Firth, C., *Cromwell's army* (1912 edn.), p. 152.

<sup>6</sup> His death is given incorrectly in the *D.N.B.* as in 1642. But the date inscribed on his coffin, found during the restoration of Turvey Church, 1852-54, is 19 June 1643 (W. M. Harvey, *The history and antiquities of the hundred of Willey, Beds* (1872-78, p. 204)). The entry of his burial on 24 June 1643 was made in the Turvey parish register, not at the time, but 3 July 1662.

<sup>7</sup> Halstead, *op. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1648-49, pp. 173, 175.

<sup>9</sup> *Cal. Committee for Compounding*, ii (1890), 1207-8 His fine was £5,106 15s.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>11</sup> Halstead, *op. cit.* <sup>12</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1651-52, p. 461.

<sup>13</sup> *Cal. C.S.P.*, ii 348.

<sup>14</sup> Reilly, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

<sup>15</sup> Clarendon, *Hist.*, xv. 93.

<sup>16</sup> John Evelyn, *Diary* (ed. Bray), ii (1879), pp. 317, 337.

<sup>17</sup> *Cal. Committee for Compounding*, i. 769.

<sup>18</sup> *The private diaries of Elizabeth Viscountess Mordaunt*, pp. 27, 231.

Mordaunt promised<sup>1</sup> to raise 400 to 500 horse for the King and was in touch with the marquis of Ormonde during the visit of the latter to England in 1658. On 1 April he was arrested<sup>2</sup> in London and examined by the Protector as to his knowledge of Ormonde's visit.<sup>3</sup> He was released on condition he appeared if summoned, and on 15 April was re-arrested<sup>4</sup> and committed to the Tower. Again he was examined first by Cromwell and then by Major-general Goffe.<sup>5</sup> His imprisonment, shared by his wife, was severe.

His trial for treason took place on 1 and 2 June 1658 in the crowded Westminster Hall before a High Court of Justice of forty persons presided over by John Lisle. Before it were also tried and condemned for treason Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewitt.<sup>6</sup> Mordaunt demanded a trial by jury. ' 'Tis hard,' he said,<sup>7</sup> 'I should be excluded those privileges my ancestors have so often sweat and bled for in purchasing the rights of the Great Charter and Petition of Right.' Ultimately he was acquitted by the casting vote of the president of the court in his favour.<sup>8</sup> He owed his escape partly to his wife, who persuaded<sup>9</sup> him to cease disputing the authority of the court, and who also secured the escape<sup>10</sup> from prison of a vital second witness for the prosecution, but also to the fact that Colonel Pride,<sup>11</sup> who would have voted against him, had to leave the court through illness. On 10 June Mordaunt was released, but his courage at the trial, and his escape, made him a marked man.

Unfortunately the letter-book contains no letters between May 1658 and 17/27 December 1658, when the King thanked him for renewed offers of service. In the spring of 1659 his usefulness as an agent won him a viscounty. Charles II sent the blank warrant to Mrs. Mordaunt, telling her to bestow it on the person 'you think fittest to oblige'.<sup>12</sup> The king's patent, creating him Baron Mordaunt of Reigate in Surrey and Viscount Mordaunt of Avalon in Somerset, was not issued till 10 July 1659,<sup>13</sup> and it was only known to Hyde, Nicholas and Ormonde.

During the winter, Mordaunt had continued his efforts to build up a presbyterian-royalist alliance. He tried to secure their election to the parliament of 1659. When it opened he took the risk of staying in London and transmitted to the King useful information from friends in the House.<sup>14</sup> His father's support of the parliament in 1642-43, his mother's Puritan opinions and dislike of his royalist activities, gave him an entry into presbyterian circles. He believed it essential to secure the financial support and man power of the presbyterians, but unfortunately the secret council of the royalists, the 'Sealed Knot', disapproved of his policy and feared to embark on a rising. Mordaunt felt the lack of an accredited leader in England. 'We want

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 263.

<sup>2</sup> *The trial of Mr. Mordaunt at the pretended High Court of Justice . . . 1 and 2 June 1658* (1661), by 'T. W.', and dedicated to the Dowager-Countess of Peterborough. This tract in the British Museum claims to be based on an original account of the trial and is fuller than the report in the *State Trials* (1719), i. 813, 820. For other accounts see Clarendon, *Hist.*, xv. 94-8, and *Mercurius Politicus*, 27 May to 3 June 1658

<sup>3</sup> Clarendon, *Hist.*, xv. 94.

<sup>5</sup> Thurloe, *S.P.*, vii. 102

<sup>7</sup> *The trial of Mr Mordaunt.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *The trial of Mr. Mordaunt*

<sup>6</sup> *State Trials*, i. 803-12

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>10</sup> Clarendon, *Hist.*, xv. 97.

<sup>11</sup> *The private diarie of Elizabeth Viscountess Mordaunt*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>12</sup> *Infra*, no. 3.

<sup>13</sup> G.E.C., *The complete peerage*, ix. 201

<sup>14</sup> *C S P.*, iii. 423.

here some wise and powerful person', he wrote<sup>1</sup> to Ormonde on 18 February 1658-59.

To meet this need, Charles II erected the 'Plenipotentiary or Great Trust and Commission'<sup>2</sup> to negotiate with the presbyterians and parliamentarians and to organize a rising. Those named were Lord Belasyse, Colonel John Russell, Sir William Compton, and Sir Richard Willis, all members of the Sealed Knot, Lord Loughborough and John Mordaunt. In June 1659 Lord Willoughby of Parham, a presbyterian, Andrew Newport, Job Charlton and William Legge joined the trust, and in July Sir John Grenville, Sir Thomas Peyton and William Rumbold, experienced royalists, were added. The new council was broad based, but unfortunately, the older body, the 'Sealed Knot', still existed and friction between the two was inevitable.

When the protectorate of Richard Cromwell collapsed, in April 1659, the need for royalist action was urgent. Mordaunt pushed forward the preparations for the rising. He then preferred presbyterian to foreign aid, which he thought<sup>3</sup> 'a sad cure for an ill disease'. The first necessity was to secure a port in which Charles II could disembark his troops from Flanders. Only then would Spain supply the ships from Ostend.<sup>4</sup> Plans were made for securing Chester, Bristol, Plymouth, Portsmouth, Sandwich, Rye, Dover, Lynn. Richard Cromwell was approached,<sup>5</sup> after his fall, to join the King and bring over Admiral Montagu and Lockhart; a ship was ready and Mordaunt prepared to go with him to the fleet, but Richard Cromwell preferred<sup>6</sup> to submit to the restored Rump.

The rising was organized regionally. It was hoped that successful risings at strategic points in the country would cause the government to withdraw troops from London and so make possible an attempt in the city by Major-general Browne. Once the port was secured, the King and the duke of York would be together, or one in the east and the other in the west. Mordaunt knew that the rising was dependent on the arrival of troops from abroad and of the King. He thought<sup>7</sup> if Bristol were secured, 3,000 men would be enough to bring, but if not, they were too few. The western royalists refused to rise unless adequately supported.<sup>8</sup>

The regionalism of the plan bred difficulties. Major-general Massey regarded the design on Gloucester and Bristol as his affair, from his long connection with both, and he resented new plans for them sponsored by Mordaunt and Mr. John Howe.<sup>9</sup> Another difficulty was supply. Mordaunt pledged his own resources, and by 7 June<sup>10</sup> had also secured a promise of £20,000, possibly from Lord Craven,<sup>11</sup> the wealthy friend of Elizabeth of Bohemia. Through his wife, Mordaunt had a relation with the court of the latter, for members of the Carey family had been in her service.<sup>12</sup> But presbyterians agreeing to lend money or secure arms, were inclined to make their

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, iii 426.

<sup>2</sup> *Infra*, no. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Infra*, no. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. C.S.P.*, iii 110; *C.S.P.*, iii. 472.

<sup>5</sup> *C.S.P.*, iii. 478.

<sup>6</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1658-59, p. 356.

<sup>7</sup> *Infra*, no. 23.

<sup>8</sup> *Infra*, no. 31.

<sup>9</sup> *The Nicholas papers*, iv (1920), 114-17, 131, 159.

<sup>10</sup> *Infra*, no. 29.

<sup>11</sup> *Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 314.

<sup>12</sup> The daughter of Sir Robert Carey, 1st earl of Monmouth, was one of the maids of honour of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia (Green, *Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia* (1909 edn.), p. 18).

support conditional on the King's acceptance of the treaty of Newport, and neither the King nor Hyde would support this. The presbyterian-royalist alliance lacked a firm basis; neither side fully trusted the other. The royalist disliked the presbyterian who had bought Church and royal lands; the presbyterian was unwilling to risk his life unless his religion and his lands were secured.

Differences existed too on practical details. The 'Sealed Knot' wanted three weeks' notice of the rising; Mordaunt thought two days sufficient.<sup>1</sup> At the end of June, Mordaunt went to Brussels to settle the date and the King agreed to leave for the coast on 11/21 July.<sup>2</sup> In a letter to the English royalists, he told<sup>3</sup> them to give all credit to Mordaunt, who had his orders. Meanwhile at Brussels Mordaunt had been told<sup>4</sup> by the King that Sir Richard Willis had been denounced to him as a traitor. Mordaunt had found Willis one of the 'wary gentlemen' of the Knot, but he believed him honest. Warned against further communication with him, Mordaunt found on his return to England that Willis had been denounced in a public placard on 3 July.<sup>5</sup> Royalist confidence was shaken, not only by this incident, but by the submission of Henry Cromwell<sup>6</sup> in Ireland, which would enable the government to bring over troops from Ireland if necessary. But not even the danger could cure royalist dissensions, and the bickering of Mordaunt with his kinsman Alan Brodrick<sup>7</sup> continued. Brodrick, a member of the 'Sealed Knot', thought Mordaunt rash and self-important; Mordaunt blamed him for careless talk.

In these circumstances the rising was postponed till 1 August. At the final meeting of the Trust on 24 July, Sir Richard Willis opposed<sup>8</sup> the rising as ill-timed because of the harvest, and 'totally Presbyterian', adding 'I were neither Christian nor Englishman, should I encourage or give way to action, the blood and miseries considered will ensue'. Unfortunately he deterred Colonel John Russell, Sir William Compton and others from action. Mordaunt was in despair; he knew a second postponement would be fatal. He wrote<sup>9</sup> to Hartgill Baron, 'You see how we miserably jest away kingdoms' and he began to fear foul play.

From 27 July till the rising, there is a gap in the letter-book, but from other sources we can reconstruct Mordaunt's share in it. He duly rose<sup>10</sup> in Surrey, for which he was responsible, with his cousins Thomas and James Howard and the earl of Lichfield. Unfortunately the government had discovered<sup>11</sup> the date of the rising and that an attempt would be made in Surrey. Mordaunt and his small party of thirty found<sup>12</sup> the rendezvous on Banstead Down guarded and were nearly taken. They tried again, but by Sunday, 14 August, realized they had no support. Already on 28 July the government had ordered<sup>13</sup> Mordaunt's arrest, unless he

<sup>1</sup> *Infra*, no. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Infra*, no. 40.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Clarendon, *Hist.*, xvi. 32, 33.

<sup>5</sup> *The Nicholas papers*, iv (1920), 169-70. The date is given wrongly as 3 June. It should be 3 July. See also *infra*, no. 55.

<sup>6</sup> Thurloe, *S.P.*, vii 683.

<sup>7</sup> *C.S.P.*, iii. 527, 533; *infra*, no. 48.

<sup>8</sup> *Infra*, no. 55. On Sir R. Willis, see *E.H.R.* (Jan 1928), pp. 33-65; M. Hollings, *Thomas Barret*, pp. 33-65.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Clarendon MSS., vol. lxiii, fos. 266-7.

<sup>11</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 56.

<sup>12</sup> Clarendon MSS., vol. lxiii, fos. 278-9.

<sup>13</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 46.

surrendered by 17 August. On the 14th he supped at the 'Rose and Crown' in Bagshot, slept in a cottage, and the next day reached London by boat from Chertsey.<sup>1</sup> There till 2 September, he lay hid<sup>2</sup> in the house of the royalist Alderman Robinson. He then took boat for France, reaching Calais on 7 September.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile the rising had failed. The prompt measures taken by the government in summoning troops from Ireland and Dunkirk<sup>4</sup> and strengthening the garrisons at strategic points were supplemented by recruiting citizens for the emergency in the militia.<sup>5</sup> Arms and horses were seized and the arrest<sup>6</sup> of the leaders paralysed the risings everywhere but in Cheshire. Major-general Massey was captured<sup>7</sup> near Gloucester on 31 July, and though he escaped, he could not re-start the rising. Neither Mr. Howe nor Colonel Popham was able to help, and the whole plan for securing Bristol collapsed.<sup>8</sup> The failure of the earl of Northampton and Sir William Compton to rise<sup>9</sup> left Sir George Booth's successful rising in Cheshire unsupported in the Midlands. In London<sup>10</sup> the strict guard kept by the government prevented any rising. Worst of all, the wind blew<sup>11</sup> the wrong way, preventing the transportation of the royalists from Flanders and of the French troops promised by Turenne.<sup>12</sup> In these circumstances, once Booth was defeated at Winnington Bridge<sup>13</sup> by Lambert on 19 August, the rising was over, and hundreds of royalists in prison.

During these events, Charles II had waited at Calais<sup>14</sup> for the summons to cross to England, but, on hearing the rising in Kent had failed, he turned west<sup>15</sup> to Rouen with the marquis of Ormonde, hoping to embark from Le Havre or St. Malo for Cheshire, while the duke of York sailed from Boulogne with the troops promised by Turenne. At St. Malo<sup>16</sup> the King heard of Booth's defeat. He thought further resistance impossible and turned south by Rennes towards the Pyrenees, intending to seek aid from France and Spain, then engaged at Fuentarabia in peace negotiations. Meanwhile the duke of York,<sup>17</sup> at Boulogne on the eve of embarking for England, also heard of the defeat of Booth. He still wished to sail, but Turenne dissuaded him from doing so, and he returned to Brussels.

Thus when Mordaunt landed at Calais, he found neither the King nor the duke of York, nor instructions. Before leaving England, Mordaunt had reported to the King<sup>18</sup> the failure of the rising, ascribing it to the treachery of Willis.<sup>19</sup> A greater

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon MSS., vol. lxiii, fos. 266-7.

<sup>2</sup> Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 573.

<sup>3</sup> Carte, *Ormonde*, iii. 691.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, pp. 54, 74.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> Sir John Grenville was arrested on 26 July, but released on parole (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 43); Mr. Brodrick, Sir William Waller, Sir Francis Vincent had been arrested by 17 Aug. (*ibid.*, pp. 59, 107, 118).

<sup>7</sup> *The Clarke papers*, iv (1901), 36.

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Howe was arrested, but released on parole (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 103); Colonel Popham found men would not rise unless the King or one of his brothers landed (*Carte, Ormonde papers*, ii. 227).

<sup>9</sup> *C.S.P.*, iii. 559.

<sup>10</sup> *Cal. S.P. Venetian*, 1659-61 (1931), pp. 53-4, 62.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>12</sup> Carte, *Ormonde*, iii. 683.

<sup>13</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 136.

<sup>14</sup> The King left Brussels for Calais 3 Aug. (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 303, 311).

<sup>15</sup> Carte, *Ormonde*, iii. 676.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 685.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> He wrote three letters to the King. Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 194-200. *C.S.P.*, iii. 548-9, 558-9.

<sup>19</sup> *C.S.P.*, iii. 559.



disaster had been the non-arrival of the King and the troops from abroad.<sup>1</sup> Mordaunt's services had been great in winning presbyterians to the cause, in raising money and in reviving hope, but he lacked the military experience of many of the older royalists, and beside the efficiency of the government his plans seemed loosely drawn. Even on 27 July Sir William Waller<sup>2</sup> did not know exactly his part in the rising. The plans could only have worked if local risings had synchronized successfully, and this did not happen. Mordaunt over-estimated the discontent in the army and the unpopularity of the government. But against the royalists, both the army and the ordinary citizen supported the government or at least failed to oppose it. Except in Cheshire,<sup>3</sup> the numbers who rose were pitifully small.

Yet Mordaunt believed another attempt practicable. He had left men in arms<sup>4</sup> and he hoped with the help of Turenne still to attempt the invasion. He decided, with the concurrence of Hyde<sup>5</sup> and Nicholas,<sup>6</sup> to go to the King to persuade him to this course, but he could not start till his wife, then sought for<sup>7</sup> by the English government, arrived with money. 'I expected both my wife and money', wrote Mordaunt<sup>8</sup> to Hyde, 'without the last I could not stir, without settling the first, I should have carried only a body without a soul . . . for I owe as much to her as a man can owe to a wife.' Lady Mordaunt arrived at Calais about 23 September<sup>9</sup> and on 25 September she wrote<sup>10</sup> to the King expressing her 'willing submission' that her husband should take fresh risks in his service.

She did not write lightly, for Mordaunt, foreseeing that the quarrel between Lambert and the parliament was reaching a climax, decided, if the breach occurred, he would return to England to attempt another rising. Against the advice of Hyde, he refused to go to the King, sending instead Baron<sup>11</sup> with his report. On 18 October, having heard of Lambert's ejection of the Rump on 13 October, he crossed to England with Colonel Philips, after having tried in vain to secure from the duke of York and Hyde their consent to a rising in the King's absence.

Mordaunt arrived in London by 22 October,<sup>12</sup> and was welcomed by Rumbold<sup>13</sup> and other royalists. In high spirits over the political confusion, he urged Titus<sup>14</sup> and Massey<sup>15</sup> to return to England. From 22 October to 11 November 1659, Mordaunt was in London and his letters furnish a valuable commentary on the general situation, as well as on royalist designs. He had already in his letter<sup>16</sup> to the King from Calais of 11 October urged him to return to Flanders; back in England, he was the more convinced that a priceless opportunity was being lost by the King's absence. His six letters<sup>17</sup> to the King between 11 October and 13 November combine devotion to the royal cause with plain speaking. No rising could take place in

<sup>1</sup> Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 227.

<sup>2</sup> *Infra*, no. 57.

<sup>3</sup> Sir George Booth raised between 4,000 and 5,000 men, but at the battle of Winnington Bridge Lambert thought there were not more than 2,000 (*Tracts relating to the Civil War in Cheshire, 1641-1659*, edited J. A. Atkinson (1909), pp. 168, 170).

<sup>4</sup> *Infra*, no. 81.

<sup>5</sup> *Infra*, no. 85.

<sup>6</sup> *Infra*, no. 76.

<sup>7</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 234.

<sup>8</sup> *Infra*, no. 86.

<sup>9</sup> *Infra*, no. 79.

<sup>10</sup> *Infra*, no. 80.

<sup>11</sup> *Infra*, no. 77.

<sup>12</sup> *Infra*, no. 104; C.S.P., iii. 590.

<sup>13</sup> *Infra*, no. 106.

<sup>14</sup> *Infra*, no. 99.

<sup>15</sup> *Infra*, no. 101.

<sup>16</sup> Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 230.

<sup>17</sup> *Infra*, nos. 107, 108, 114, 121, 127, 128.

Charles's absence, and meanwhile Mordaunt feared that a republic or a protectorate under Lambert might be set up. By 2 November, having heard nothing from the King, he grew impatient. 'Sir,' he writes,<sup>1</sup> 'I shall playnly represent unto your Majestie . . . as nothing can absolve us from an entire obedience to all your commands, so Sir, your Majestie is accountable to God on our behalf.'

A further anxiety came from his presbyterian allies, whose insistence on the treaty of Newport grew more determined. This Mordaunt disapproved. 'Sir,' he wrote<sup>2</sup> on 5 November, 'tis a great and glorious prince we hope to see you, not what they please to make you, having the militia in their hands.' Hyde thought<sup>3</sup> the treaty would be 'far from constituting a monarchicall government', and impracticable; he did not think 'that a King who hath endured banishment so long, will be persuaded to be no King that he may have leave to live in England'.

Meanwhile Mordaunt through the agency of General Schomberg,<sup>4</sup> with whom Lady Mordaunt<sup>5</sup> kept in touch from Calais, continued his plan to win over the garrison of Dunkirk and, with the aid of Turenne,<sup>6</sup> to launch the invasion of England, either in the event of a crisis in England or when the King returned. His eye was also on the duel between Lambert and Monck. At one time he favoured<sup>7</sup> the proposal of suggesting to the duke of York a marriage with Lambert's daughter, in the hope of buying over the general. But neither the King nor the duke of York approved the plan. Overtures to Monck were in the hands of his kinsman Sir John Grenville.<sup>8</sup>

It was indisputable that opinion in favour of parliamentary as opposed to military rule was rising in England, but no decisive change had occurred when Mordaunt left London<sup>9</sup> on 11 November for France to meet the King, at last on his way back from the Pyrenees. By 13 November Mordaunt reached Calais<sup>10</sup> and rejoined his wife. Leaving her at Calais, he visited Turenne<sup>11</sup> in his quarters at Amiens and was sent in his coach to meet the King on 25 November<sup>12</sup> at Colombe.

Charles II in a letter<sup>13</sup> to Mordaunt of 3/13 November had thanked Mordaunt for his services and the meeting was cordial. 'My master is so kind to me', wrote Mordaunt<sup>14</sup> to his wife, 'that I am perfectly ashamed, he calls me friend.'

But Mordaunt was disappointed<sup>15</sup> to find that aid from France was not assured. Mazarin had refused<sup>16</sup> an interview to the King at Fuentarabia, and though he had granted<sup>17</sup> one to Ormonde, he had declined to pledge definite aid to the King till the peace of the Pyrenees was executed. He left unsupported<sup>18</sup> Turenne's offer of help to the duke of York and took care to keep on good terms with the English government. Even after Lambert's *coup d'état*, Mazarin told<sup>19</sup> Turenne he should not intervene, 'on doit attendre que les choses se disposent de telle manière que le roy d'Angleterre joue presque à jeu seur'.

<sup>1</sup> *Infra*, no. 121.

<sup>2</sup> *Infra*, no. 127.

<sup>3</sup> *Infra*, no. 148.

<sup>4</sup> *Infra*, nos. 112, 142, 146.

<sup>5</sup> *Infra*, nos. 124, 162, 164.

<sup>6</sup> de Grimoard, *Collection des lettres et mémoires du maréchal de Turenne* (1782), i. 313.

<sup>7</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, pp. 246, 247.

<sup>8</sup> *Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 441.

<sup>9</sup> *Infra*, no. 171.

<sup>10</sup> *Infra*, no. 171.

<sup>11</sup> *Infra*, no. 177.

<sup>12</sup> *Infra*, no. 177.

<sup>13</sup> *Infra*, no. 177.

<sup>14</sup> *Infra*, no. 177.

<sup>15</sup> *Infra*, no. 177.

<sup>16</sup> *Infra*, no. 177.

<sup>17</sup> *Infra*, no. 177.

<sup>18</sup> *Infra*, no. 177.

<sup>19</sup> *Infra*, no. 177.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 448.

<sup>11</sup> *Infra*, no. 170.

<sup>12</sup> *Infra*, no. 171.

<sup>13</sup> *Infra*, no. 171.

<sup>14</sup> *Infra*, no. 171.

<sup>15</sup> *Infra*, no. 171.

<sup>16</sup> *Infra*, no. 171.

<sup>17</sup> *Infra*, no. 171.

<sup>18</sup> *Infra*, no. 171.

<sup>19</sup> *Infra*, no. 171.

<sup>20</sup> *Infra*, no. 171.

<sup>21</sup> *Infra*, no. 171.

<sup>22</sup> *Infra*, no. 171.

<sup>23</sup> *Infra*, no. 171.

Charles II thought Mazarin's attitude might alter if he knew of the rising royalist opinion in England. He ordered Mordaunt to draw up a memorandum of the royalist position. Mordaunt did so reluctantly<sup>1</sup>; he thought it dangerous to reveal plans to a foreign minister, and he wished he had Hyde by him. But the King insisted and with the help of Ormonde, in whose name it was sent to Mazarin, Mordaunt drew up the statement; the plans outlined in it are his, and the anonymous peer alluded to in it is himself.<sup>2</sup> In the document Mordaunt urged the need for help from France if a successful invasion were to take place.

Meanwhile in England, opinion was rising in favour of the parliament and against military rule. The duel between Lambert and Monck in the north ended in the disintegration of Lambert's army and the growth of Monck's authority.<sup>3</sup> In London the clash between the apprentices and the military produced riots.<sup>4</sup> Finally the power of the army collapsed; first Portsmouth, then other towns declared for the parliament<sup>5</sup>; Vice-admiral Lawson supported the demand by bringing his fleet into the Thames,<sup>6</sup> and on 26 December the Rump was restored.<sup>7</sup>

During this crisis there was an unsuccessful attempt at a royalist rising in London,<sup>8</sup> but no general insurrection. Both Hartgill Baron and the dowager-countess of Peterborough thought the opportunity had been missed for want of Mordaunt. 'I must say,' wrote<sup>9</sup> Hartgill Baron to Mordaunt, 'those that are your particular enemies have told me had you been here, the King had been crowned.' Lady Peterborough wrote,<sup>10</sup> 'Never was there such an occasion lost nor ever such a time as now for the King to come'.

The Rump restored, the presbyterians intensified their propaganda for the treaty of Newport and a conditional restoration. To check this, Baron<sup>11</sup> urged Mordaunt to return and to bring the King's orders as to the purchasers of royal and church lands. By 13 January Mordaunt was back in London,<sup>12</sup> leaving his wife and the King in Brussels. From 13 January to 18/28 January, when the letter-book unfortunately concludes, his letters give valuable information.

The government, led by Sir Arthur Hesilrige, was torn with dissension and unpopular.<sup>13</sup> Mordaunt thought the King could be restored by a successful rising with French aid, or by negotiations with the presbyterians. Through Aldermen Robinson and Langham he secured<sup>14</sup> £5,000, with which he planned to buy over garrisons of strategic places. He had hopes of gaining Portsmouth.<sup>15</sup> But time was short; Monck had begun his march into England<sup>16</sup> and his aims were unknown.

On 13 January Mordaunt wrote<sup>17</sup> to his wife, 'Monck no flesh understands, all feare. I like not his proceeding,' and on 23 January<sup>18</sup> to the Queen-Mother, 'Monck is so dark a man, no perspective can looke through him'.

<sup>1</sup> *Infra*, no. 178.      <sup>2</sup> Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 293.

<sup>3</sup> Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 592.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. S.P. Venetian*, 1659-61 (1931), p. 101.

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 478.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 481.

<sup>7</sup> Whitelocke, *Memorials*, p. 693.

<sup>8</sup> *Cal. S.P. Venetian*, p. 106; Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, II. 312.

<sup>9</sup> *Infra*, no. 200.

<sup>10</sup> *Infra*, no. 201.

<sup>11</sup> *Infra*, no. 203.

<sup>12</sup> *Infra*, no. 213.

<sup>13</sup> *Infra*, no. 209.

<sup>14</sup> *Infra*, no. 223.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> General Monck reached Newcastle on 5 Jan. 1659-60. On 11 Jan. he was at York; on 28 Jan. St. Albans (*The Clarke papers*, iv. (1901), xxiii. n. 1).

<sup>17</sup> *Infra*, no. 213.

<sup>18</sup> *Infra*, no. 235.

Mordaunt, and the chief royalists collaborating with him, thought the King should come. 'Sir,' they wrote<sup>1</sup> on 19 January, 'if God protect your person, you will make better termes for yourself and party being here, then where you are. If you get into armes your conditions may be very easie, if otherwise, you will best doe your own businesse.'

The letter-book ends with a letter to Lady Mordaunt from Sir Robert Moray of 18/28 January 1659-60.<sup>2</sup> But from other sources Mordaunt's later career can be reconstructed. During the period before the meeting of the Convention parliament on 25 April 1660, Mordaunt's services were important. He had realized the importance of the city of London, 'the master wheel', as he said to the King,<sup>3</sup> 'by whose motions the successive rotations of all the lesser must follow'. Through the friendly aldermen Robinson and Langham, he was able to inform the city of the King's offer<sup>4</sup> to renew and enlarge their liberties, and thus forged a vital link in the chain of events leading to the restoration.

Mordaunt also realized that the collaboration of the country as a whole was essential. He was in touch with Lord Fairfax through his secretary, John Rushworth,<sup>5</sup> and knew of the rising demand in Yorkshire for a free parliament. He sent<sup>6</sup> to various counties arguments supplied by William Prynne and Arthur Annesley, to stimulate petitions for a free parliament. Further, he kept in touch with the presbyterian peers, the earls of Manchester and Northumberland.<sup>7</sup> When the secluded members were restored by Monck, Mordaunt wrote to the King,<sup>8</sup> 'Hee that made you our King, has restored your Majesty to your crownes'. But he was not in Monck's confidence and found him impenetrable.

In the new council of state set up on 21 February<sup>9</sup> were Sir William Waller, Colonel Ingoldsby and several of the presbyterians with whom Mordaunt was negotiating. Sir George Booth<sup>10</sup> was released and the sequestration removed from his estate and from Mordaunt's. Lady Mordaunt, who arrived in England about 9 March,<sup>11</sup> described to Hyde<sup>12</sup> the change in England since she left it in September 1659. Then 'most persons afraid to see me and I more afraid to see them, our estate and all our things seised and we overjoyed to be out of our own country, and now I return welcomed by all . . . our estate released . . . our persons freed and our goods restored by act of councill'.

The services rendered by Mordaunt to the King were undeniable, but unfortunately his reputation had suffered by his jealous and suspicious temper; he was alternately self-distrustful and over-bearing. His bad relations with Brodrick were of long standing. Now he alienated Massey by passing him over in favour of John Howe,<sup>13</sup> in the nomination for the king's commissioner for Gloucestershire. This drew down the rebuke of Hyde,<sup>14</sup> for Massey, an experienced soldier with a long connection with Gloucester, was intended by the King for the post. Hyde told

<sup>1</sup> *Infra*, no. 230.

<sup>2</sup> *Infra*, no. 248.

<sup>3</sup> *Infra*, no. 240.

<sup>4</sup> *Infra*, no. 216; C.S.P., iii. 643-4.

<sup>5</sup> *Infra*, no. 209; C.S.P., iii. 651.

<sup>6</sup> *Infra*, no. 240.

<sup>7</sup> *Infra*, no. 209.

<sup>8</sup> *Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 569.

<sup>9</sup> C.J., vii. 847.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 848.

<sup>11</sup> *Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 592.

<sup>12</sup> Clarendon MSS., vol. lxx, fos. 184-5.

<sup>13</sup> *Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 543.

<sup>14</sup> C.S.P., iii. 683-6.

Mordaunt frankly of the criticisms against him, that he kept things too much in his own hands as if he were the sole authority, whereas he was only one of several commissioners, and that his friends caused trouble, Hartgill Baron was said to have declared that 'the King must owe his crown to Lord Mordaunt'. Mordaunt took criticism badly, and now became suspicious of Hyde, of the King and of Ormonde. In these difficulties, Lady Mordaunt, who was at Brussels till about 6 March, tried to counteract her husband's mistakes. She kept back letters she thought unwise, and though she defended her husband to the King and Hyde, she agreed with much of their criticism. She wrote to Mordaunt<sup>1</sup> in reference to Hyde's criticisms, 'If you take that ill, nobody that was your friend could write to you truthes'. In these circumstances she told Mordaunt it was wiser not to ask for any reward or office, but to rely on the King's recognition of his services; Nicholas told her, 'the King must do something very glorious for you or make himself infamous to all ages; your services have been so eminent'.

As the political situation revolved round Monck, the significance of his kinsman, Sir John Grenville, increased, and it was from him<sup>2</sup> not from Mordaunt on 19 March, that the general at last received the King's letter and defined the conditions for the restoration of the King. When Grenville took the message of Monck to the King, Mordaunt accompanied<sup>3</sup> him to Brussels; but Grenville did not reveal to him his conversation with Monck till after his interview with the King.<sup>4</sup> Mordaunt and Grenville concealed themselves in Brussels,<sup>5</sup> only visiting the King by night, for the Spanish ministers were suspected of wishing to detain the King. On 21 March the King, advised by Monck to leave Spanish territory, left Brussels secretly for the United Provinces, and it was from Breda<sup>6</sup> that Grenville and Mordaunt brought back the King's letters to both houses of parliament, to General Monck and to the city of London.

Grenville also brought back to his kinsman William Morice<sup>7</sup> the intermediary between himself and Monck, an offer of the second secretaryship of state rendered vacant in 1658 by the conversion to catholicism of George Digby, 2nd earl of Bristol. The office was one to which Mordaunt had aspired,<sup>8</sup> although originally his ambitions were limited to the post of gentleman of the bedchamber.<sup>9</sup> It is possible that he lost it through his defects of character, as much as from the King's need to oblige Monck, to whom Morice was related.

Events moved fast, but the danger from the presbyterians continued. Their leaders pressed for the terms of the treaty of Newport. The method actually taken, that a convention parliament should meet, to which the King would send his declaration, seems to have been suggested to Monck by the speaker,<sup>10</sup> Sir William Lenthall,

<sup>1</sup> British Museum, Add. MSS. 32499, fo. 7: 4 March 1660, Lady Mordaunt to her husband under the pseudonym 'Mr. Browne'.

<sup>2</sup> Clarendon, *Hist.*, xvi. 166.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168.

<sup>4</sup> Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 606.

<sup>5</sup> Clarendon, *Hist.*, xvi. 176.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, xvi. 180.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, xvi. 180; *E.H.R.*, vol. xxxiii (1918), 367.

<sup>8</sup> *Infra*, no. 236.

<sup>9</sup> *Infra*, no. 176.

<sup>10</sup> *C.S.P.*, iii. 711-14. The speaker on 30 March sent for Lady Mordaunt to tell her he wished to treat with her husband, then on his way to Brussels (Lister, *Life of Clarendon*, iii. 97).

who had decided for a full restoration. Even after the presentation of the King's letters to parliament by Sir John Grenville and to the city by Grenville and Mordaunt on 1 May, Mordaunt did not consider the danger past of a conditional restoration. While others flocked to Breda, he remained <sup>1</sup> in England to watch the King's interests. He was also able to help defeat the intrigue of the earl of Manchester and others to prevent Hyde's return.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, on 25 May, Charles II disembarked at Dover. Among those who welcomed him was Lord Mordaunt,<sup>3</sup> at the head of 'a troop of Spanish merchants all in black velvet coats'; with Monck he was knighted. But Mordaunt's reward for his notable services was not outstanding. In July 1660 <sup>4</sup> he was made constable of Windsor Park in reversion after Sir Edward Nicholas; and in February 1661 <sup>5</sup> governor and captain of Windsor Castle. He was appointed lord-lieutenant of Surrey,<sup>6</sup> and granted <sup>7</sup> in reversion after his mother Reigate Priory at the annual rent of £7 4s. 9d. He also obtained <sup>8</sup> with Sir Thomas Peyton and others, a lease of the King's coal-farm of Newcastle. But he failed to get the commissionership of the treasury<sup>9</sup> which he desired. Clarendon, in his *Life*,<sup>10</sup> describes Mordaunt as 'totally neglected' at the restoration and ascribed it to the aspersions cast on his character by other royalists, together with 'some unseasonable importunities of his own as if he thought he had deserved very much'. Unfortunately Mordaunt was his own worst enemy. On 18 December 1666 he was impeached<sup>11</sup> by the house of commons for the arbitrary imprisonment and forcible dispossession from his lodgings of William Taylor, one of the surveyors of Windsor Castle.

On becoming constable of the castle, Mordaunt had found it in such decay that £5,000 <sup>12</sup> was estimated as the cost of repairs; William Taylor was one of the surveyors. Mordaunt was accused <sup>13</sup> of forcibly ejecting Taylor and his family from their lodgings in the castle in 1661; of imprisoning him arbitrarily for one night in 1661, and for twenty weeks in 1665 until obliged to release him on a *Pluries habeas corpus*, and finally of unsuitable overtures to Taylor's daughter. After conference with the house of commons, the house of lords decided to hear the impeachment, and on 17 January 1667, Lord Mordaunt presented his answer in writing.<sup>14</sup> He accused Taylor of insolence, disobedience and peculation; declared that he was removed from certain lodgings, because they belonged rightly to the chancellor of the garter. He did not deny the imprisonment of Taylor but categorically denied any unsuitable behaviour to his daughter. Witnesses were ordered to attend, but the King prorogued parliament <sup>15</sup> on 8 February 1667, and when it re-assembled in July, the case was not raised. Lady Mordaunt gave thanks to God in her diary on

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon MSS., vol. lxxii, fo 198

<sup>2</sup> Lister, *op. cit.*, iii, 99-100.

<sup>3</sup> Hist MSS Comm., 5th Report, App., p. 207.

<sup>4</sup> Cal. S P Dom., 1660-61, p. 139.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 524.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 1663-64, p. 340.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 1660-61, p. 138.

<sup>8</sup> Cal C S.P., iv, 571, n. 1

<sup>9</sup> Clarendon MSS., vol lxxiii, fo 30.

<sup>10</sup> Clarendon, *Life*, i, 304.

<sup>11</sup> C.J., viii 664-5.

<sup>12</sup> British Museum, Egerton MSS. 2537.

<sup>13</sup> C.J., viii. 666-7, Articles of impeachment against Lord Mordaunt.

<sup>14</sup> L.J., xii. 70.

<sup>15</sup> C.J., viii. 692.

2 July 1667<sup>1</sup> 'that my deare Hosband past unquestioned in the Parlement that was sumoned in July, by thayr being at that time very maletious desires aganst him, both by Mr. Taler and others'. None the less, Lord Mordaunt resigned<sup>2</sup> his constablership of Windsor Castle. He was pardoned by the King, but in November 1668 joined<sup>3</sup> his wife at Montpelier, whither she had gone for her health in 1667.<sup>4</sup> He found there the fallen earl of Clarendon,<sup>5</sup> to whom Lady Mordaunt showed much kindness. In April 1669 Lord Mordaunt and his family returned<sup>6</sup> to Parsons Green. On the death of his mother, the dowager-countess of Peterborough in 1671,<sup>7</sup> Mordaunt became involved in prolonged litigation with his brother Henry, the 2nd earl, over the priory of Reigate, which the countess had bequeathed to her younger son. In 1674<sup>8</sup> the matter was ended by compromise; the estate was settled on the heirs male of the family and a reconciliation took place.

On 5 June 1675<sup>9</sup> Lord Mordaunt died of fever at Parsons Green, aged forty-eight. He left six sons and four daughters; a 7th son was born posthumously. He was buried 14 June 1675<sup>10</sup> in the south aisle of All Saints Church, Fulham. On the south wall in the west tower, Lady Mordaunt erected to her husband, at a cost of £400, a monument<sup>11</sup> by Bushnell and Bird, in marble. On a slab of black marble, John Mordaunt is represented<sup>12</sup> in an effigy of white marble, standing in semi-Roman costume with a baton in his hand, his head turned in profile to the right. On detached pedestals in front are his coronet and gauntlets. On each side the figure is an oval tablet; on the left, with a table of his descent, on the right the following inscription:

H.S.I. Nobilissimus heros Johannes Mordaunt, Johannis Comitis Petroburgensis filius natus minor, ex Mordauntiorum stemmate, quod ante sexcentos annos Normania traductum serie perpetua, deinceps hic in Anglia floruit; qui acceptum a parentibus decus rebus gestis auxit et illustravit, opera egregia posita in restituendo principe ab avitis regnis pulso, mille aditis periculis a Cromwelli rabie saepius provocata, saepe etiam devicta, a Carolo secundo feliciter reduce in laborum mercedem, et benevolentiae tesseram, vice comes de Aviland est renunciatus, castris etiam Windesoriae et militiae Surriensis praefecturae admotus. Ex nuptis cum lectissima heroina Elizabeth Carey comitum Monumethae stirpe oriunda auspicatissime initis (succepta prole numerosa) filius septem, filias quatuor medio aetatis flore, annorum 48 febre correptus vir, immortalitate dignus, animam Deo reddidit, v die Junii, annoque Domini MDCLXXV.

Lady Mordaunt survived him until April 1679.<sup>13</sup> His eldest son Charles Viscount Mordaunt became 3rd earl of Peterborough on the death of his uncle Henry, the 2nd earl, on 19 June 1697.<sup>14</sup>

John Mordaunt's importance between 1658 and 1660 is admitted by his contemporaries and by later historians. Clarendon, who knew his faults, wrote of him, 'It<sup>15</sup> must not be denied that his vivacity, courage and industry revived the hearts

<sup>1</sup> *The private diarie of Elizabeth, Viscountess Mordaunt* (1856), pp. 95-7.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1667, p. 246; *Ibid.*, 1667-68, p. 609.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1667, p. 277; *The private diarie*, p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>6</sup> *Private diarie*, p. 125.

<sup>8</sup> *Private diarie*, p. 168.

<sup>10</sup> Lysons, *Environs of London*, ii. 380.

<sup>12</sup> The monument is reproduced in the *Inventory of the historical monuments of London*, ii (1925), plate 61. See also Lysons, *Environs of London*, ii (1795), p. 370.

<sup>13</sup> Evelyn, *Diary* (ed. Bray), ii. 359.

<sup>5</sup> Clarendon, *Life*, ii. 518-19.

<sup>7</sup> *D.N.B.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 370.

<sup>15</sup> Clarendon, *Life*, i. 303.

which were near broken before Cromwell's death'. Sir John Grenville, and Sir Thomas Peyton, experienced royalists, defended<sup>1</sup> him warmly to the King in February 1659-60. His enemies also recognized his importance. Thurloe was perturbed<sup>2</sup> by Mordaunt's negotiations with the presbyterians in 1658; Cromwell took the trouble to examine him personally,<sup>3</sup> while the government in 1659 made repeated efforts<sup>4</sup> to arrest him. Later historians too have agreed that he was significant. Ranke<sup>5</sup> says Mordaunt 'was generally recognised as the most active, devoted and unselfish of all Charles II's partisans'. He also considered that Mordaunt's negotiations with the city aldermen in 1659-60, and his communication to them of the King's offers, 'united the city to the King, which really inaugurated the restoration'. Dr. Feiling<sup>6</sup> also praises Mordaunt as a 'really capable agent'.

His contribution to the restoration is undeniable. He kept alive the spirit of resistance in 1658 and 1659 and he forged those links between the presbyterians, the city and the King, without which the restoration would not have been possible. He too saw that a restoration might be effected through an outstanding military leader, and he had designs on Lambert,<sup>7</sup> but when the course of events gave the part to Monck, it was inevitable that Mordaunt's significance should be less than that of Sir John Grenville, the general's kinsman.

Mordaunt was weakest on purely military matters, but the failure of the rising of 1659 taught him that foreign aid, which he had not at first wanted, was essential to a successful invasion. Monck saved England from another civil war, but the credit for his conversion must go more to Grenville than to Mordaunt.

The Mordaunt letter-book not only adds considerably to our knowledge of Lord and Lady Mordaunt; it fills in gaps in the Clarendon, Nicholas and Ormonde correspondence, and sometimes elucidates difficulties in them. It gives us new letters from the King, the duke of York, Hyde, Nicholas and Ormonde, which are of definite importance, as well as those of Lord and Lady Mordaunt. It also affords other interesting side-lights, the friendship between Elizabeth of Bohemia and her daughters with Lady Mordaunt,<sup>8</sup> Charles II's thanks to William Prynne<sup>9</sup> for his support in 1659, and the part played by Marshal Turenne and General Schomberg<sup>10</sup> in the general royalist plan for an invasion. On the internal politics in England after the death of Cromwell, the letter-book throws more light on the presbyterians than on the republicans; Mordaunt does not always judge the latter correctly.

The letters in the manuscript hitherto unpublished are printed here in full. Letters previously only calendared in the *Calendars of Clarendon State Papers* and *State Papers Domestic* are also printed fully. Those previously printed are here merely calendared. The headings to the letters are by the editor. The spelling of the manuscript has been retained, as also has the punctuation except for the occasional insertion of a comma or a full point. Contractions have been enlarged.

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 560.

<sup>2</sup> Thurloe, *S.P.*, vii. 84.

<sup>3</sup> Clarendon, *Hist.*, xv. 94.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, pp. 46, 278.

<sup>5</sup> Ranke, *History of England in the seventeenth century*, iii (1875), 262, 282.

<sup>6</sup> Feiling, *History of the Tory party* (1924), p. 88.

<sup>7</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, pp. 246-7.

<sup>8</sup> *Infra*, nos. 58, 59, 196, 219.

<sup>9</sup> *Infra*, no. 169.

<sup>10</sup> *Infra*, nos. 142, 146, 162, 164, 175, 210.



Wherever possible, passages in the letters in numerical cipher have been elucidated by reference to decoded letters in the Clarendon State Papers and other collections. It has not been possible to find the key to Lord Mordaunt's cipher. It is not among the cipher keys to royalist correspondence in the Public Record Office. In several cases cross-references to other letters have supplied the meaning.

The dating followed in this edition is the Old Style then in use in the British Isles; letters originally dated in the New Style being indicated by a double date. The year is taken to begin 1 January and the date printed thus, 1 Jan. 1658-59.

Short biographical notes have been supplied to persons named in the text.

The portrait of Lord Mordaunt in armour set in an ornamental oval frame has been reproduced from an impression of the excellent original engraving by William Faithorne in the British Museum. Owing to war conditions, the original engraving was inaccessible. I am indebted to the Keeper of the Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum, for securing for me a reproduction from a good impression. It is possible that the engraving was from the portrait in the possession of Sir Robert Soame Jocelyn, earl of Roden, of Merchiston, Larne. Unfortunately, as Lord Roden has kindly informed me, the portrait is too dark with age to allow reproduction. In the engraving the Mordaunt coat of arms 'argent, a chevron between three estoiles sable' is at the foot.

Finally I must thank the President and Council of the Royal Historical Society for the publication of the manuscript, and the John Rylands Library, Manchester, for permitting it. I must also thank Dr. Henry Guppy, C.B.E., Librarian of the John Rylands Library, for arranging for the manuscript to be rotographed for me. My thanks are due to Colonel Nigel Stopford-Sackville for allowing me to inspect the Mordaunt papers in his possession at Drayton House, Northants, to Lord Braye of Stanford Park, Rugby, for giving me access to the Peck transcripts, and to the Convent of the Sacred Heart, temporarily at Stanford Park, for their kind hospitality during my visit. I am also indebted to Mr. Charles S. Mordaunt of Castle Ashby, Northants, to Miss Helen Mordaunt of Little Manor, Adderbury, Oxon, to the Rev. C. Cholmondeley of Highfield, Dawlish, Devon, and the Rev. T. H. Perry of Blakesley Vicarage, Towcester, Northants, for their interest in and assistance in my search for the Mordaunt letters. My thanks are also due to the Secretary of the Public Record Office, Mr. Hilary Jenkinson, for making accessible to me, even in war-time, certain documents for fresh consultation. Two of my former pupils have also assisted me in the preparation of this volume. Miss Phyllis Goodman of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, has given me valuable help in the compilation of the 'biographical' notes, and Miss Barbara Philp of St. Hilda's College, Oxford, has assisted me with secretarial assistance.

Lastly, I am most indebted to the joint literary director of the Royal Historical Society, Mr. A. V. Judges. He has been most helpful in criticism and advice and extremely patient in the delays in producing a volume under war-time conditions.

MARY COATE.

LADY MARGARET HALL,  
OXFORD.

*September 1944.*

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Acts and Ord.</i>	<i>Acts and ordinances of the interregnum</i> , edited C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait (1911), 3 vols.
Baker, <i>Chronicle</i>	<i>A chronicle of the kings of England . . . by Sir Richard Baker, with a continuation by E. Phillips</i> (1733 edition).
<i>Cal. C.S.P.</i>	<i>Calendar of Clarendon state papers</i> (1872-1932), 4 vols.
<i>Cal. Committee for Compounding</i>	<i>Calendar of the committee for compounding</i> (1889-92), 5 parts.
<i>Cal. S.P. Dom.</i>	<i>Calendars of state papers domestic.</i>
<i>C.S.P.</i>	<i>Clarendon state papers</i> (1767-86), 3 vols.
Clarendon, <i>Hist.</i>	Clarendon, earl of, <i>History of the rebellion</i> , edited W. D. Macray (1888), 6 vols
Clarendon, <i>Cont.</i>	Clarendon, earl of, <i>Life, in which is contained a continuation of the history of the great rebellion</i> (1857 edition), 2 vols.
Carte, <i>Ormonde papers</i>	Thomas Carte, <i>A collection of original letters and papers . . . 1641 to 1660</i> (1739), 2 vols
Carte, <i>Ormonde</i>	Thomas Carte, <i>Life of James duke of Ormonde</i> (1851), 2nd edition, 6 vols.
<i>C.J.</i>	<i>Journals of the house of commons.</i>
<i>The Clarke papers</i>	<i>Selections from the papers of William Clarke</i> , edited by C. H. Firth (Camden and R. Hist. Socs., 1891-1901), 4 vols.
<i>E.H.R.</i>	<i>The English Historical Review.</i>
Firth, <i>Regimental history</i>	Sir Charles Firth, <i>The regimental history of Cromwell's army</i> (1940), 2 vols.
Guizot, <i>Richard Cromwell</i>	F. P. G. Guizot, <i>History of Richard Cromwell and the restoration</i> , trans. by A. R. Scoble (1856), 2 vols.
<i>L.J.</i>	<i>Journals of the house of lords.</i>
Ludlow, <i>Memoirs</i>	<i>Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow</i> , edited by Sir C. Firth (1894), 2 vols.
<i>The Nicholas papers</i>	<i>The Nicholas papers</i> , edited by Sir G. . . . and R. Hist. Socs., 1886-1920), 4 vols.
Thurloe, <i>S.P.</i>	<i>A collection of the state papers of John Thurloe</i> , edited by T. Birch (1742), 7 vols.
Whitelocke, <i>Memorials</i>	B. Whitelocke, <i>Memorials of the English affairs . . . restoration</i> (1682 edition).

# MATERIALLS FOR HISTORY

Being a Transcript of the Originall Commissions, Instructions, Orders, Debates, Letters, Messages, Military, Ecclesiasticall, Civill, in the Yeares 1658, 1659, 1660, 1661. Directed to the LORD VISCOUNT MORDAUNT and to other the Commissioners whose Names are inserted in the Plenepotentiary

## 1. The King to John Mordaunt.

[Brussels, 6/16 May 1658.—Believes <sup>1</sup> those who assure him that Mordaunt is willing to work for his restoration. If Mordaunt will employ his considerable interest, the King <sup>2</sup> will acknowledge it with real kindness and will always be his affectionate friend.]

## 2. The King to John Mordaunt.

[17/27 December 1658.—Has <sup>3</sup> received Mordaunt's letter of 25 Nov.<sup>4</sup> Had not written to him lately, in order not to expose him to danger, but had taken care that 247,<sup>5</sup> whom Mordaunt trusts, should inform him of writer's care for him. Has heard from 258 <sup>6</sup> that Mordaunt has important news for him; is impatient to hear them and will keep them secret.]

<sup>1</sup> Printed in full in Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, pp. 188-9.

<sup>2</sup> 16 March 1657-58 William Rumbold reported to Ormonde John Mordaunt's hope to raise 400 or 500 horse for the King (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 263). 25 Feb. 1658-59 Mordaunt requested Ormonde to procure him commissioners to raise two regiments of horse and one of foot in Surrey (*C.S.P.*, iii. 389). 29 March 1658 Mordaunt asked Hyde for definite instructions from the King (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 34).

<sup>3</sup> Printed in full in Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, p. 189.

<sup>4</sup> Mordaunt to the King, 25 Nov. 1658, London, Clarendon MSS., vol. lx, fos. 234-5. He renewed his offers of service and stated that he had received no communications since his acquittal at the high court of justice, 2 June 1658.

<sup>5</sup> In the letter of Mordaunt to Hyde, 8 March 1658-59, Clarendon MSS., vol. lx, fos. 211-12, in partly deciphered cipher, 247 refers to William Rumbold and 258 to Hartgill Baron.

William Rumbold (1613-67), royalist; from 1653 engaged as a financial agent for the King in England (Rumbold, 'Notes of the history of the family of Rumbold in the seventeenth century' (*Trans. R. Hist. Soc.*, vol. vi (1892), pp. 147 et seq.); imprisoned for royalism May 1655 to Sept. 1658 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 78); actively engaged for the rising of 1659 (*D.N.B.*).

<sup>6</sup> Hartgill Baron, royalist, of Meere, Wilts; used the pseudonym 'John Jones' in correspondence with Hyde in 1658 and 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 99); employed by Hyde and Mordaunt to carry letters during 1659 (*ibid.*, numerous entries); involved with Mordaunt in the attempted rising in Surrey in Aug. 1659 (*ibid.*, iv. 333).

## 3. The King to Mrs. Elizabeth Mordaunt.

[*Brussels, 2/12 March 1658-59.*—Thanks<sup>1</sup> her for her services; sends her an enclosure 'to bestow upon the person you think fittest to oblige'<sup>2</sup>; refers to his constant kindness to them both.]

## 4. Blank warrant from the King for the dignity of a viscount.

CHARLES R.

Whereas<sup>3</sup> out of the good esteeme we beare to our — and in regard of his faithfull services don, as well to us, as to Our dear Father of blessed memorie, We are resolved, as a speciall marke of our favour, to honour him and his posteritie with the Dignity of a Viscount of Our Kingdome of — Our will and pleasure is that you prepare a bill fitt for Our Royall Signature, concerning Our Graunt and Creation of the Dignity of a Viscount, by the name of Viscount — in Our county of — unto the said — and to the heires males of his body, together with all priviledges, preheminences, to the degree and Dignity of a Viscount of that Our Kingdome, due and appertaining. And with the yearly summe of nineteen pounds six shillings and eight pence, to be paid by the Sheriff of Our said county of — out of the profits of the said county for the better maintenance of the said Dignitie, wherein you are to insert all such clauses as are usuall in like cases, and as shall be requisite for the illustration of the family and merits of the said — And for so doing this shall be your Warrant. Given at our Court at Bruxells, this eleventh day of March 1659, in the eleventh yeare of our Reigne.<sup>4</sup>

## 5. The King to John Mordaunt.

[*Brussels, 2/12 March 1658-59.*—Has<sup>5</sup> received his letter of 25 Jan.<sup>6</sup>; bearer will inform him of all things here; fears nothing so much as too much wariness and want of confidence in his friends towards each other. When the business is ready for action, wishes notice sent by messenger, and then will come as soon as possible.]

## 6. The King to Lord Mordaunt.

[1659, see no. 205, where the letter occurs again verbatim, dated 30 Dec. 1659.]

<sup>1</sup> Printed in full in Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, 190, where for 'borrow' read 'bestow'. Clarendon MSS., vol. lx, fo. 173. Draft by Hyde. 1/11 March 1658-59.

<sup>2</sup> The enclosure is no. 4.

*Mrs. Elizabeth Mordaunt*, Elizabeth Carey (d. 1679), younger daughter of Thomas Carey, 2nd son of Robert 1st earl of Monmouth; married John Mordaunt in 1656-57 and assisted him actively in royalist plotting (Clarendon, *Hist.*, xv. 93). *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> Noted but not printed in Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, p. 190. Clarendon MSS., vol. lx, fo. 173. Draft by Hyde. 1/11 March 1658-59.

<sup>4</sup> 10 July 1659, John Mordaunt was created Baron Mordaunt of Reigate in Surrey and Viscount Mordaunt of Avalon in Somerset. *D.N.B.*

<sup>5</sup> Printed except for conclusion, 'Your very affectionate friend Charles R.', in *C.S.P.*, iii. 436-7, under date 11 March 1659. Clarendon MSS., vol. lx, fo. 173, 1/11 March.

<sup>6</sup> Mordaunt to the King, 25 Jan. 1658-59. Clarendon MSS., vol. lx, fos. 14-15.

## 7. The Plenepotentiary or Great Trust and Commission.

[*Brussels*, 1/11 March 1658–59.—Commission<sup>1</sup> from the King, appointing John Mordaunt and 193, 161, 155, 152, 174<sup>2</sup> his commissioners, with powers to treat with subjects formerly in rebellion other than regicides or those concerned in the trial of Charles I. Persons willing to work for the restoration of the King will be pardoned and rewarded. Two notes<sup>3</sup> appended stating that in June 1659, Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, Andrew Newport, Job Charlton and William Legge entered the trust, and in July 1659, Sir John Grenville, Sir Thomas Peyton and William Rumbold.]

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Hist. MSS. Comm., 10th Rep., 1887, App. vi, p. 189, with the exception of the two footnotes and the heading, Clarendon MSS., vol. lx, fo. 177, under date 1/11 March 1658–59, and heading 'Instructions for my friends'.

<sup>2</sup> In the Clarendon MS. the following names are given instead of the cipher: Lord Belasyse, Lord *Belasyse*, Colonel John Russell, Sir William Compton and Sir Richard Willis.

*John Belasyse* (1614–89), royalist; 2nd son of Thomas 1st Viscount Fauconberg; 1645 Baron Belasyse of Worlaby, Lincs; supported Charles I in first civil war; one of the Sealed Knot (Thurloe, *S.P.*, iii. 64); in 1658–59 he negotiated with the earl of Manchester and with Major-General Browne in the King's interest (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 20, 130); responsible for the north in plans for the rising of 1659 (*ibid.*, iv. 169); imprisoned Aug. to Nov. 1659 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 75; *Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 432). *D.N.B.*

*Henry Hastings, Lord Loughborough* (1609?–67), royalist; 2nd son of Henry 5th earl of Huntingdon; fought in royalist cause in civil wars; 23 Oct. 1643, created Lord *Loughborough*; engaged in royalist plotting in 1654, but did not rise in 1655; a member of the *Sealed Knot* (Thurloe, *S.P.*, ii. 70; *Cal. C.S.P.*, ii. 315). *D.N.B.*

*Colonel John Russell* (d. 1687), royalist; 3rd son of Francis Russell 4th earl of Bedford; M.P. for Tavistock, Nov. 1640; one of the Sealed Knot; imprisoned several times 1655–58 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 79, 175, 262; iv. 34); engaged for but failed to rise in the rising of 1659 (*C.S.P.*, iii. 553); adhered to Sir Richard Willis (*Carte, Ormonde papers*, ii. 284–6). *D.N.B.*

*Sir William Compton* (1625–63), royalist; 3rd son of Spencer 2nd earl of Northampton; fought in royalist cause in first and second civil wars; knighted in 1643 for his defence of Banbury; member of the Sealed Knot; imprisoned in 1655 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 43) and in 1658 (Thurloe, *S.P.*, vii. 61); engaged for 1659, but did not rise (*C.S.P.*, iii. 559); arrested, but, Sept. 1659, released on security (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 180). *D.N.B.*

*Sir Richard Willis*, royalist; member of the Sealed Knot (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1655, 212); June 1659 denounced to the King by Samuel Morland (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 223) and posted as a traitor in London; 3 July 1659 (*The Nicholas papers*, iv. (1920), 169).

<sup>3</sup> *Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham* (1613?–66), parliamentarian; 2nd son of William 3rd baron Willoughby of Parham. In 1654 was in correspondence with the King (*Cal. C.S.P.*, ii. 345); in 1655 and 1656 imprisoned (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1655, p. 588; 1655–56, p. 580); engaged for the rising of 1659 but did not rise (*C.S.P.*, iii. 490, 524, 557). *D.N.B.*

*Andrew Newport* (1623–99), royalist; 2nd son of Sir Richard Newport, of High Ercall, Shropshire; M.P. for Shrewsbury, Nov. 1640. Employed 1657–60 in raising money for the King in England (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 263, 340); responsible for the plan to secure Shrewsbury in 1659 (*ibid.*, iv. 21, 87, 156); was imprisoned from July to Nov. in 1659 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 38; *Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 430). *D.N.B.*

*Job Charlton* (1614–97), royalist and lawyer; eldest son of Robert Charlton, goldsmith, of London and Whitton, Shropshire; M.P. for Ludlow in 1659; from May 1659 engaged in negotiations in the King's interest with the Presbyterians (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 196, 200, 238). *D.N.B.*

*William Legge* (1609–72), royalist; eldest son of Edward Legge, sometime vice-president of Munster; engaged with Mordaunt in 1659 in a design to secure Windsor Castle for the King (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 202, 227); July to 30 Sept. imprisoned in the Tower (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60,

## 8. Instructions for the commissioners.

[1/11 March 1658-59.—The King<sup>1</sup> states that he is far from animosity towards former rebel subjects and is willing to pardon those prepared to return to their loyalty. He is opposed to any general promises to purchasers of crown or church lands, or of lands confiscated from royalists. He authorizes each commissioner to treat separately with former rebels, but to act only on joint advice of other commissioners. He leaves it to them to make plans for action.]

## 9. Further instructions for the commissioners.

[Brussels, 1/11 March 1658-59.—The King<sup>2</sup> depends upon the commissioners to consult together in his service; will join them when advised to do so. Wishes 588, 606, 859, 458 to peruse the blank commissions sent and insert suitable names of those willing to assist his cause.

*Footnote.* 'This great trust and commission was sent to the lord viscount Mordaunt,<sup>3</sup> then at Parsons Greene, by the hand of that faithfull gentleman, Mr. Hartgill Baron, together with the instructions and a packet of commissions for horse and foote.']

## 10. The marquis of Ormonde to John Mordaunt.

[1/11 March 1658-59.—Is<sup>4</sup> sending him letters which will shew that his warmth

pp. 35, 231); was supposed to have directed the seizure of Windsor Castle on 28 Dec. 1659, but denied this (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 500, 532). *D.N.B.*

*Sir John Grenville* (1628-1701), royalist; 3rd but eldest surviving son of Sir Beville Grenville of Stowe, Cornwall; responsible for royalist plans in Cornwall in 1655 and imprisoned; engaged for the rising of 1659; arrested July 1659 but released in Aug. on parole and allowed to return to Cornwall (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, pp. 38, 43; *C.S.P.*, iii. 543); 19 March 1659-60 presented the King's letter to General Monck and negotiated the restoration (Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 605). *D.N.B.*

*Sir Thomas Peyton* (c. 1613-84), royalist; son of Sir Samuel Peyton, baronet, of Knowlton, Kent; M.P. for Sandwich Nov. 1640; imprisoned for royalism in the Tower, in Guernsey and in Windsor Castle from 1655 to March 1658-59 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 221, 263; *The Oxinden and Peyton Letters*, edited Gardiner (1937), pp. 208, 210-13, 221; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1658-59, pp. 302, 581); actively engaged with Mordaunt for the rising of 1659 in Kent (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 222, 519, 535).

<sup>1</sup> Printed in full, with four additional paragraphs before the opening words, in *C.S.P.*, iii. 437-8, under title 'The King's instructions for his friends', 11 March 1659. Clarendon MSS., vol. lx, fos. 175-6. Draft by Hyde. Noted but not printed in Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> Printed but without the footnote in Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, pp. 189-90. Clarendon MSS., vol. lx, fo. 177, omits the footnote and gives instead of the cipher the names 'Lord Bellasis, Lord Loughborough, Mr. Jo. Russell, Sir Will. Compton, Mr. John Mordaunt and Sir Richard Willis and those of that Knot'.

<sup>3</sup> John Mordaunt was not created Baron Mordaunt till 10 July 1659; the note is a later addition by the copyist.

<sup>4</sup> Printed but without postscript in Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, p. 190.

*James Butler*, 12th earl and 1st duke of Ormonde (1610-88), royalist; eldest son of Viscount Thurles and grandson of William Butler, 11th earl of Ormonde; lieutenant-general of the King's forces in Ireland in the first and second civil wars; 1655-60 was at the court of Charles II in Cologne and Brussels and in the confidence of the King and Hyde; he accompanied Charles II to Fuentarabia in Sept. 1659 (Carte, *Ormonde*, iii. 685 et seq.). *D.N.B.*

and industry are evident to the King. The marks of the King's kindness are due to Mordaunt's merits. Recommends him to take care of himself. *Postscript*: 'My most humble service to your lady.']

## II. John Mordaunt to the King.

[*Undated*.—Thanks<sup>1</sup> the King for the honour bestowed on him. Is sorry to hear through Hartgill Baron that Sir James Hamilton<sup>2</sup> threatened the King's chief minister. Desborough's<sup>3</sup> influence with the army is increasing. Does not think Richard Cromwell<sup>4</sup> could be trusted. Discusses the possibility of agreement with the presbyterians. Sir William Waller<sup>5</sup> considers the next free parliament

<sup>1</sup> The letter, so far, is printed in *C.S.P.*, iii. 443-5, under date 24 March 1658-59, from the copy by J. Nicholas in the Clarendon MSS., vol. ix, fos. 242-3. In the Mordaunt MS. is this additional paragraph: 'Sir, the afflictions of this nation are so violent in your behalfe, that durst they shew their insides, I dare say never King received a crowne with so universall a joy to his people as your Majestie would doe: Therefore I most humbly represent to your Majestie the satisfaction it would be to them and us, if wee could see your Majestie so settled as that the love of the people might run in a right line from your person to the persons of your own posterity. For, Sir, I finde nothing can so much conduce to an union here, as a happy marriage with some princesse of your own religion. For, Sir, if I say ye Catholicks here are not so much your servants as they ought to be, I represent no more than I am desired to doe by those really honour and love your person. For your Majestie is known so fixed to your father's (of blessed memory) religion, that it pleases them not. And bygotery rules much heere. The particular transactions here Mr. [blank in MS.] will transmitt, for I feare the cyphering this long account will take up all the time I have left, my wife with all humbleness acknowledging your Majesties great favour. And this morning God hath blessed me with another sonne,\* this makes her deferre her duty in answering it herselfe till He please to restore her so much strength as to be able to write. Your Majestie has made our whole family your most devoted servants, which that wee may continue the deserving to be and usefull to your Majestie, is the hearty prayers of us both, and indeed Sir, wee are as our duty tyes us, most humbly and most faithfully, your Majesties obliged subjects and servants J. E. M.†'

\* Henry Mordaunt (1659-1720).

† John and Elizabeth Mordaunt.

The letter is noted, but not printed, in *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 10th Rep., 1887, App. vi, p. 190; it is there dated March 1659.

<sup>2</sup> *Sir James Hamilton of Priestfield*, royalist; 2nd son by second marriage of Thomas Hamilton, 1st earl of Haddington. In Dec. 1655, with Major Armorer, he shot the spy Henry Manning near Cologne (Thurloe, *S.P.*, iv. 718); in 1656 lieutenant-general of the regiment of Scotch royalists in Flanders (Firth, 'Royalist and Cromwellian armies in Flanders, 1657-62', *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.*, vol. xvii (1903), p. 69; *Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 218; 1658 in England acting for the King (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1658-59, p. 6), 1659 corresponded with Nicholas under the pseudonym Thomas Jackson (*The Nicholas papers*, iv (1920), 127-8).

<sup>3</sup> *Major-General John Desborough* (1608-80), parliamentarian and soldier; 2nd son of James Desborough of Eltisley, Cambs; served under his brother-in-law Oliver Cromwell in the civil wars (for his military career see Firth, *Regimental history*); M.P. for Cambs. 1654, for Somerset 1656; member of the Other House 1658-59, 22 April 1659 forced Richard Cromwell to dissolve parliament (Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 568); 12 Oct. 1659 cashiered by parliament (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 137); supported Lambert against the parliament, but 29 Dec. 1659 submitted to the parliament (Firth, *Regimental history*, 1. 208). *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> *Richard Cromwell* (1626-1712), Protector, 3rd son of Oliver Cromwell; 3 Sept. 1658-May 1659 Protector. Ramsey, *Richard Cromwell* (1937), and *D.N.B.*

<sup>5</sup> *Sir William Waller* (1597?-1668), parliamentarian; son of Sir Thomas Waller, lieutenant of Dover Castle; M.P. for Andover, Nov. 1640; 1643-45 in command of army of the south and west (Firth, *Regimental history*); a presbyterian member, secluded in 1648 and imprisoned

will restore the King fully to his prerogatives. The presbyterians would join if the King could be declared in the City. Wishes these opinions to be imparted only to Hyde<sup>1</sup> and Ormonde.]

## 12. John Mordaunt to the King.

[10 April 1659.—Nothing<sup>2</sup> prevents the King's establishment but divisions among his followers. The 'wary gentlemen'<sup>3</sup> loath to venture. 200 officers have been cashiered and their places filled by sectaries. The four captains of horse who were to assist in securing Lynn and Shrewsbury are in danger of losing their commands. Division among royalists; men uncertain whether to obey Mordaunt and his fellow-commissioners or the 'wary men'. The King has no assurance of support from Lockhart,<sup>4</sup> Monck,<sup>5</sup> or Montagu.<sup>6</sup> The cautious hope for the dissolution of parliament, more time to prepare and foreign aid. King's position would be worse if existing government fell. Thinks to restore the King by foreign aid would be 'a sad cure for an ill disease'. Cannot advise the King yet to come.]

## 13. From — [blank in MS.] to John Mordaunt.

[15 April 1659.—Has<sup>7</sup> received his of the 16th of the last month. Hears

till 1651 (Whitelocke, *Memorials*, p. 356; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1651, p. 151); March 1658 arrested but released (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 30); engaged for the rising of 1659 (*ibid.*, iv. 165, 194); Aug. to 31 Oct. 1658 imprisoned (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, pp. 107, 135; *Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 30); 21 Feb. 1659–60 returned with the secluded members to parliament (Whitelocke, *Memorials*, p. 698); 23 Feb. 1659–60 member of council of state (*C.J.*, vii. 849). *D.N.B.*

<sup>1</sup> *Edward Hyde, 1st earl of Clarendon* (1609–74), royalist, 3rd but eldest surviving son of Henry Hyde of Dinton, Wilts; M.P. for Saltash, Nov. 1640; 1643 chancellor of the exchequer; 1645–46, on the council of the Prince of Wales in the west; 1649–51 ambassador of Charles II to Madrid; 13 Jan. 1658 lord chancellor; 1661 earl of Clarendon (Lister, *Life of Clarendon*, 1838). *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> Printed in full in Hist. MSS. Comm., 10th Rep., 1887, App. vi, p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> The Sealed Knot.

<sup>4</sup> *Sir William Lockhart* (1621–76), soldier and diplomatist; eldest son of Sir James Lockhart by second wife; first a royalist, but after 1648 parliamentarian; M.P. for Lanark in 1653, 1654, 1656; Dec. 1655 ambassador to France; 15 June 1658 governor of Dunkirk; Aug. to Nov. 1659 at Fuentarabia during the negotiations for the peace of the Pyrenees (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 316, 421, 430). *D.N.B.*

<sup>5</sup> *George Monck, 1st duke of Albemarle* (1608–70), soldier; 2nd son of Sir Thomas Monck of Potheridge, Devon; 1651–Nov. 1652, and again from April 1654 to 1660, commander-in-chief of the army in Scotland; 2 Jan. 1659–60 entered England with his army (*The Clarke papers*, iv. (1901), 238); 19 March 1659–60 received the King's letter from Sir John Grenville and negotiated the restoration (Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 605). *D.N.B.*

<sup>6</sup> *Edward Montagu, 1st earl of Sandwich* (1625–72), parliamentarian; only surviving son of Sir Sidney Montagu; July 1653 member of the council of state; Jan. 1656–57 conjoint general-at-sea with Blake; March 1659, in command of the fleet ordered to the Sound; 27 Aug. returned without orders and suspected of favouring the rising of 1659 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 165); resigned his command, but was re-appointed 23 Feb. 1659–60 jointly with Monck as admiral (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 237); 3 May communicated the King's letter to his officers (Samuel Pepys, *Diary*, 3 May 1660). *D.N.B.*

<sup>7</sup> Unsigned except for the device of a knot. Printed in full in Hist. MSS. Comm., 10th Rep.,



from 120<sup>1</sup> to whom this letter is given, that Mordaunt has written others to writer, but they have not arrived. 120 is fully instructed in the position. Sorry not to have been 582.147 when Mordaunt and 95.365 were there.]

#### 14. Sir John Grenville to John Mordaunt.

[*Easter Monday* 1659.—Has<sup>2</sup> just received the enclosed which will inform Mordaunt concerning Lambert; wishes Mordaunt to keep it till writer arrives. Is going to Sir James<sup>3</sup> and will observe Mordaunt's commands. Will serve to the utmost of his power.]

#### 15. Richard Nicolls to John Mordaunt.

[11/21 *April* 1659.—Is<sup>4</sup> awaiting instructions from his master and news of Mr. Montagu.<sup>5</sup> The Court is on the march to the 'pleasant battle' to be fought on 10 May.<sup>6</sup> Expectations of the Palace Royale<sup>7</sup> are increasing. Will endeavour to serve Mordaunt and wishes to be remembered 'to those of our tribe'. Letters are to be directed as formerly to Mr. Booth.<sup>8</sup>]

#### 16. The lord chancellor to John Mordaunt.

[23 *April*/3 *May* 1659.—Writer<sup>9</sup> hopes his letter of 11 April reached Mordaunt;

<sup>1</sup> The key to the cipher in this letter has not been found. There is no letter written by Mordaunt of 16 March among the Clarendon, Nicholas or Mordaunt papers. The writer of the letter may be Captain Titus, who in April 1659 was in England with Major-General Massey and engaged in negotiations with Mordaunt. Massey in a letter to Hyde of 16 March 1659-60 uses the number 120 for himself (Thurloe, *S.P.*, vii. 856). 365 may refer to Sir William Waller, with whom Massey and Titus were trying to arrange a meeting (*The Nicholas Papers*, iv. (1920), 115). In the King's letter to Mordaunt of 5/15 Feb. 1658-59, 356 probably stands for Sir W. Waller (Clarendon MSS., vol. lx, fo. 91).

<sup>2</sup> Printed in Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, p. 193, but with two omissions, 'and put it not out of your own hands' after the word afternoon, and the ending, 'I am in haste, Your lordships most humble and faithfull servant, J. Grenville.' Sir John Grenville was in London (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 161, 167). This is his first letter to Mordaunt.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Sir James Hamilton.

<sup>4</sup> Printed in Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, p. 193. Inserts in brackets 'Richard' before 'Nicolls', and 'the King's marriage' after 10 May; omits the ending 'I am yours'. The letter is unsigned.

*Richard Nicolls* (1624-72), royalist; 4th son of Francis Nicolls, imprisoned for royalism 1655 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 79); attached to the household of the duke of York and employed by him in a scheme to secure Dunkirk in Nov. 1659 (*The Nicholas papers*, iv. (1920), 189); maintained the innocence of Sir Richard Willis (*Carte, Ormonde papers*, ii. 284). *D.N.B.*

<sup>5</sup> *Edward Montagu* (1635-65), royalist; eldest son of the 2nd Baron Montagu of Boughton, Northants; acted as intermediary between his cousin Admiral Montagu and Charles II (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 229; Samuel Pepys, *Diary*, 20 April 1660). *D.N.B.*

<sup>6</sup> The marriage of Louis XIV to the Infanta Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip IV of Spain, took place at Bayonne, 7 June 1659.

<sup>7</sup> The court of the Queen-Mother, Henrietta Maria, Paris.

<sup>8</sup> *Henry Booth* of Calais, acted as agent for the transmission of letters for the King (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 169, 337, 339).

<sup>9</sup> Printed in full in Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, pp. 193-7. Clarendon MSS., vol. lx, fos. 418-23. Draft by Bulteaule, endorsed by Hyde.

acknowledges those of Mordaunt of 24 March to the King, and of 31 March to Ormonde. Advises Mordaunt not to drop his good opinion of Sir James Hamilton. The King has not been approached by the moderate party for terms. Would not be surprised if Cromwell got himself proclaimed King. Cannot understand the objections to the instructions sent to Mordaunt. Since Ormonde's return from England<sup>1</sup> the King has received no advice as to what to do. He had written to Lord Belasyse about the latter's nephew<sup>2</sup> and received answer that the time was unfit for action. Advises that Mr. Baron should bring Mordaunt and Sir William Compton together. Hopes Mordaunt will speak with Sir Richard Willis. Lord Belasyse and Colonel John Russell shy, having been often in prison. Wishes Sir William Waller and Lord Manchester<sup>3</sup> would confer with them. Does not know what to think of Colonel Browne.<sup>4</sup> Longs to hear that Mordaunt has spoken with Massey<sup>5</sup> or Titus<sup>6</sup> and that Waller has done so too. Deplores unauthorised persons going over to England. The King has only known of the going of Massey, Titus, Mr. Baron, Mr. Hopton<sup>7</sup> and N. Armorer.<sup>8</sup> Had heard from Mr. Rumbold of

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde arrived in England 30 Jan. 1657-58 and left 17 or 18 Feb. (Firth, *Last years of the Protectorate* (1909), ii. 61, 65; Carte, *Ormonde*, iii. 660-7).

<sup>2</sup> *Thomas Belasyse 1st Earl Fauconberg* (1627-1700), parliamentarian; son of Henry Belasyse and grandson of Thomas, 1st Lord Fauconberg, whom he succeeded in 1652. Married in 1657 Mary, daughter of Oliver Cromwell (Thurloe, *S.P.*, vi. 628); Jan. 1658 member of the Other House; hoped for as intermediary between Charles II and Richard Cromwell and later Monck (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 130, 268, 580). *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> *Edward Montagu, 2nd earl of Manchester* (1602-71), parliamentarian; eldest son of Sir Henry Montagu, 1st earl of Manchester. M.P. for Hunts 1624, 1625, 1626; Nov. 1642 succeeded as 2nd earl; 1643-45 major-general of the associated counties; opposed the trial of the King; approached by Charles II in writing April 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 190); engaged for the rising of 1659 with the presbyterians and in schemes for the restoration in Jan. 1660 (*ibid.*, iv. 235, 522). *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> *Major-general Sir Richard Browne* (d. 1669), London citizen; colonel of London regiment of dragoons in first civil war (Firth, *Regimental history*, ii. 584); M.P. for Wycombe, 1647, but expelled by the army Dec. 1648; imprisoned for five years (Burton, *Diary*, edited Rutt (1828), iv. 264, 276); M.P. for London 1656 and 1659; engaged in plans for effecting the restoration in London (Firth, *Regimental history*, iv. 196, 507). *D.N.B.*

<sup>5</sup> *Massey* (? 1619-74), parliamentarian, soldier; 5th son of John Massey of Coddington, Cheshire, 1645 general of the western association; M.P. for Gloucester in 1646; Dec. 1648 excluded; but escaped abroad and from 1650 served the royalist cause; March 1659 in England (Firth, *Regimental history*, iv. 196, 507). *D.N.B.*

<sup>6</sup> *Captain Silius Titus* (1623?-1704), soldier; son of Silius Titus of Bushey, Herts; parliamentarian in first civil war, but from 1648 supported royal cause; after 1651 in exile; engaged in royalist plotting under the pseudonym 'John Jennings' (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 171); 1659 in England engaged with Massey on design for Gloucester (*The Nicholas papers*, iv. (1920), 74); Jan. 1660 in England. *D.N.B.*

<sup>7</sup> *Richard Hopton* (d. 1696), parliamentarian; 5th son of Sir Richard Hopton, of Canon Frome, Herefordshire; supported the parliament till 1656 when in correspondence with the King (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 107); June 1657 imprisoned (*ibid.*, iii. 311); 1659 engaged with Massey and Titus on the design for Gloucester (*The Nicholas papers*, iv (1920), 97, 114).

<sup>8</sup> *Major Nicholas Armorer*, royalist; probably son of Thomas Armorer of Belford, Northumberland (*The Nicholas papers*, i (1886); cup-bearer to Elizabeth of Bohemia; 1654 of the

the arrival of N. Armorer and that Mordaunt had received despatches sent by him. Acknowledges Mordaunt's letter of the 6th to the King. Is glad to hear that the presbyterians and republicans watch each other uneasily. Question whether the army will seize power. Is impressed with the diligence and dexterity of Mr. Rumbold. Is so careful of Mordaunt's safety that he will not address anyone to him without his approval. Urges Mordaunt to meet Massey who is very dissatisfied with the presbyterians. Wishes Massey would speak with Sir William Waller. Massey could inform Mordaunt of the business of Mr. Alexander Popham<sup>1</sup> and Gloucester and Bristol. Hopes Mordaunt will bring Massey and Mr. Howe<sup>2</sup> together. Wishes to know whether Sir Horatio Townshend<sup>3</sup> can do anything in Norfolk. Does not trust Wildman<sup>4</sup> but latter cannot corrupt Titus. If the army seizes power, writer hopes that some in England will protest for the privileges of parliament, the liberties of the subject, and arm themselves.]

17. From — [blank in MS.] to John Mordaunt.

[Dublin, 5 May 1659.—Reports<sup>5</sup> his friends well principled. Mordaunt's friend and writer's relation, encouraged by the gentlemen of the county, who wish a full and free parliament. Urges Mordaunt to keep his plans secret. Concludes 'Your countryman and neighbour'. *Postscript*: Has given the character of the suspected person.<sup>6</sup>

household of Charles II; 1659 engaged on design to secure Shrewsbury (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 129); used in carrying letters from Mordaunt to Hyde and the King (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv, numerous entries).

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Alexander Popham (1605-69), parliamentarian; 2nd son of Sir Francis Popham of Houndstreet, Somerset, and Littlecote, Wilts; M.P. for Bath, April, Nov. 1640, 1654; M.P. for Somerset 1656; M.P. for Minehead 1658-59; actively supported the parliamentarian cause 1642-58; member of the Other House 1658 (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 31); 1659 alderman of Bristol, approached by Massey and Titus for design on Bristol (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 244); Jan. 1660 in touch with the secluded members (*ibid.*, iv. 614).

<sup>2</sup> John Grubham Howe, son of John Howe of Compton Abdale, Gloucestershire; M.P. for Gloucs 1651, Sept. 1658 offered service to the King (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 90); approached by Massey for design on Gloucester (*The Nicholas papers*, iv (1920), 115; *C.S.P.*, iii. 433); imprisoned but released Aug. 1659 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 103); again engaged by Mordaunt 1659-60.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Horatio Townshend (1630?-87), parliamentarian; 2nd son of Sir Roger Townshend, Bart., of Raynham, Norfolk; M.P. for Norfolk 1656, 1658-59; supported the parliament 1642-59; May 1659 member of the Council of state (*Acts and Ord.*, ii. 1273) but engaged in design for seizing Lynn for the King (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 227); March 1659-60 was supporting the cause of the secluded members (*ibid.*, iv. 592). *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> Sir John Wildman (1621-93), parliamentarian soldier and agitator, M.P. for Scarborough 1654 but excluded (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, i. 390); imprisoned on suspicion of sedition 1655-56 (*ibid.*, i. 418); from May 1656 engaged in royalist conspiracy (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 139, 391; iv. 98, 172); Dec. 1659 seized Windsor Castle with Colonel Ingoldsby for the parliament (Whitelocke, *Memorials*, p. 693). *D.N.B.*

<sup>5</sup> Printed in full in Hist. MSS. Comm., 10th Rep., 1887, App. vi, p. 197. The writer is most probably Colonel Daniel Redman, colonel of a regiment of horse in Ireland. He was the brother-in-law of John Otway, the friend of the royalist agent Dr. John Barwick (Firth, *Regimental history*, ii. 616). In June 1659 Colonel Redman was in London and in touch with Otway. But his 'design in Ireland' had been dropped as impracticable (Barwick, *Life of Dr. John Barwick* (1724 edn.), p. 187); Thurloe, *S.P.*, vii. 686).

<sup>6</sup> Unidentified.

## 18. John Mordaunt to the lord chancellor.

[May 1659.—Is<sup>1</sup> uneasy as to the intentions of R(ober) H(arlow)<sup>2</sup> and his influence upon the presbyterians, does not like his suggestion that the King should make concessions. Has a fair opinion of Sir George Booth,<sup>3</sup> Sir H(oratio) T(owns-hend); Mr. H(owe), Sir W(illiam) W(aller) and Lord Will(oughby) have received their commissions to serve the King. Uncertain who will command the army, Fleetwood unfit, Desborough lacking authority, Lambert<sup>4</sup> most courted; Harrison supported by the Anabaptists; R. Cromwell in great contempt, yet Henry Cromwell,<sup>5</sup> Mo(nck) and Montagu and Lockhart still support him. Has consulted

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *C.S.P.*, iii. 459–61, dated 2 May 1659, but with the following passages omitted: P. 460, after line 31, 'I went to Je. Palmer for his advice upon the whole, which hee freely gave, and will do on any occasion. As to the affaire of engagement, wee yet deferre, but all agree we ought to be ready. I beseech you, my lord, let no opportunity pass without writing to me, for I have not had one lyne since these great changes. And it lyes so heavy on me that I need the helps and advantages of all your counsell.' After line 49, 'with much diligence I have found out Peter Tal(bot) of whose transactions with the duke of Buc(kingham), your lordship shall have a full account when I get a peece of a day free; I finde nothing more usefull now then civill letters from the King to those may serve him, though it may be a trouble to him; pray my lord, beseech him to write some, it being a good bargaine, if he gaines three kingdomes for halfe a score of obliging letters'. P. 461, line 1: 'I most humbly desire a letter from the King to my lord marquis Hertford that may create a full confidence in him to mee. My lord, all things considered, wee believe ourselves in the best condition wee have been in these many yeares, which I assure you with great joy, and againe beg speedy dispatches, and those as often as you can send; for tis not possible wee can continue thus, either wee must be forced to rise, or els wee shall be secured.' The postscript, printed in *C.S.P.*, iii. 461, is not in the Mordaunt MS. The Clarendon MSS., vol. ix, fos. 466–7, is a copy by Henry Hyde. The letter is noted, but not printed, in *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 10th Rep., 1887, App. vi, p. 197. In the Mordaunt MS. the names here put into brackets are given merely under initials or in abbreviated form.

<sup>2</sup> *Major Robert Harlow or Harley* (the name is spelt variously) (1626–73), parliamentary: younger son of Sir Robert Harley of Brampton Bryan Castle, Herefordshire; parliamentary in the civil war, but from 1657 to 1658 engaged in negotiations between the presbyterians and the royalists, for the restoration of the King (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 155, 195); 16 July–14 Sept. 1659 imprisoned (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, pp. 32, 567).

<sup>3</sup> *Sir George Booth* (1622–84), parliamentary; grandson of Sir George Booth, bart., of Dunham Massey, Cheshire, whom he succeeded in 1652; M.P. for Cheshire 1645, but secluded Dec. 1648; M.P. for Cheshire 1654 and 1656, but excluded in Oct. 1656 by Cromwell (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 189); from 1655 engaged in royalist activities; rose in 1659, but was defeated at Winnington Bridge by Lambert on 19 Aug. 1659; captured at Newport Pagnell, and imprisoned till 22 Feb. 1659–60; returned then with secluded members to parliament (Carte, *Annals*, ii. 194–9; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, pp. 145, 154; Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 245; *C.J.*, vii. 848; Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, ii. 366). *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> *Major-general John Lambert* (1619–84), parliamentary and soldier; son of Josias Lambert of Calton, Yorks; colonel in the parliamentary forces 1643–51 (for military career see Firth, *Regimental history*); Dec. 1653, organized the erection of the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell (Thurloe, *S.P.*, i. 754) but was dismissed for opposition to the kingship by Cromwell in July 1657 (Firth, *Regimental history*, i. 259); M.P. for Pontefract in 1659; reinstated by parliament in commands (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 71); 19 Aug. 1659 defeated Sir George Booth at Winnington Bridge; 13 Oct. dismissed parliament by force (*ibid.*, ii. 138–9); failed to get support against Monck and was cashiered and imprisoned by restored parliament in 1660 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 459, 594). *D.N.B.* and Dawson, *Life and times of General John Lambert* (1938).

<sup>5</sup> *Henry Cromwell* (1628–74), 4th son of Oliver Cromwell; 1647–52 served in the parliamentary army in Ireland (Firth, *Regimental history*, i. xxiii, 179); M.P. for Ireland in 1653;

Jeffrey) Palmer.<sup>1</sup> Asks for instructions from the King. Apathy of English royalists. Sir Charles Howard<sup>2</sup> deprived of his garrisons. Has found out Peter Talbot<sup>3</sup> and will give details later of his transactions with the duke of Buckingham.<sup>4</sup> Colonel Norton's<sup>5</sup> hopes to influence Portsmouth undermined by Joyce,<sup>6</sup> desires a letter from the King to the Marquis of Hertford.<sup>7</sup> Situation is bound to change, the royalists must rise, or they will be secured.]

### 19. The lord chancellor to John Mordaunt.

[29 April/9 May.—Has<sup>8</sup> received his letter of 11-14 April. Hopes his of

July 1655 returned to Ireland (Ramsey, *Henry Cromwell* (1937), p. 60); Nov. 1657-15 June 1659 lord lieutenant of Ireland (Thurloe, *S.P.*, vi. 632; vii. 683-4); July 1659 returned to England, retired from politics. *D.N.B.*

<sup>1</sup> *Sir Geoffrey Palmer* (1598-1670), royalist; lawyer, son of Thomas Palmer of Carlton, Northants; M.P. for Stamford Nov. 1640; in 1641 one of the managers of the impeachment of Strafford, but in 1642 joined the King's cause (Clarendon, *Hist.*, iii. 106; iv. 58; viii. 211); in 1659 engaged for royalist cause, but very dubious about action (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 166).

<sup>2</sup> *Sir Charles Howard*, 1st earl of Carlisle (1629-85), parliamentarian; 2nd son of Sir William Howard of Naworth, Cumberland; 1651 captain of Cromwell's life-guards (Firth, *Regimental history*, i. 52); M.P. for Westmorland 1653, Cumberland in 1654, 1656; major-general under Lambert of Cumb., Northum., West. in 1655; in 1656 received overtures from the King (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 173); 1658 member of the Other House (Thurloe, *S.P.*, vi. 668); May 1659 removed from command of garrisons; 26 Aug. 1659 arrested but released on parole (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 150); Sept. 1659 re-arrested (*ibid.*, p. 217) but on 2 Nov. again released; 1661 created earl of Carlisle. *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> *Peter Talbot* (1620-80), son of Sir William Talbot of Carton, Kildare, and brother of Colonel Richard Talbot, Colonel Gilbert Talbot and Father Tom Talbot; 1635 entered Society of Jesus (Foley, *Records of the English province of the Society of Jesus* (1875-80), vii. 757); from 1654 engaged in unauthorized intrigues on the King's behalf, with Colonel Sexby, John Wildman, and the duke of Buckingham (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 74, 80, 203, 388; iv. 169); June 1659 was dismissed from the Society of Jesus (Foley, *op. cit.*, vii. 757); in Aug. 1659 at Fuentarabia intriguing with Spain (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 320). *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> *George Villiers*, 2nd duke of Buckingham (1628-87), royalist; served in royal forces in civil war (Clarendon, *Hist.*, xiii. 47, 58, 72); first in exile, but in Sept. 1657 married Mary, daughter of Lord Fairfax (Bell, *Memorials of the civil war from correspondence of the Fairfax family*, ii (1849), 253); Aug. 1658-23 Feb. 1659 imprisoned in the Tower and in Windsor Castle (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1658-59, pp. 125, 145); intrigued with Father Peter Talbot (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 232); Aug. 1659 arrested but released on security (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, pp. 101-3). *D.N.B.*

<sup>5</sup> *Colonel Richard Norton*, parliamentarian, of Hampshire; colonel of horse in civil war (Firth, *Regimental history*, i. 92); May 1659 displaced from command of the garrison of Portsmouth (Firth, *op. cit.*, ii. 584), involved in royalist negotiations (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 200); 23 Feb. 1659-60 member of council of state (*C.J.*, vii. 849).

<sup>6</sup> *George Joyce*, soldier; reputed originally a tailor in London; cornet of horse under Fairfax; in June 1647 removed Charles I from Holmby House to the army (*The Clarke papers*, i (1891), 118-22); 1650-53 governor of the Isle of Portland (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1650, pp. 206, 293; *Cal. C.S.P.*, ii. 260); Aug. 1659 employed in search for royalists (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, pp. 44, 99). *D.N.B.*

<sup>7</sup> *William Seymour*, 1st marquis, 2nd earl of Hertford, and 2nd duke of Somerset (1588-1660), royalist; 2nd son of Edward Seymour, Lord Beauchamp; 1640 marquis of Hertford; served Charles I as commander of his western army, as groom of the stool, and at his burial (Clarendon, *Hist.*, v. 385; vii. 247; xi. 244); implicated in the rising of 1655 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 29) and in 1659, but too old to take action (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 202). *D.N.B.*

<sup>8</sup> Printed in *C.S.P.*, iii. 463-5, except for three passages which are printed in Hist. MSS. Comm., 10th Rep., 1887, App. vi, pp. 197-8; Clarendon MSS., vol. lx, fos. 437-41. Draft by Bulteale.

3 May has reached Mordaunt. Supposes letters will come safely by Calais, whether directed to Mr. Brown<sup>1</sup> or as Mr. Baron directs, to Mr. Newman. Notes Rumbold's account of the excessive caution of their friends, but rashness would gratify Thurloe<sup>2</sup> with a plot. If parliament dissolved, Desborough would be more dangerous than Thurloe. Mordaunt, Sir William Compton and Colonel John Russell must find the means to communicate. Monck has warned Thurloe against Willis, who is very poor. Has authorised Brodrick<sup>3</sup> to pay him £100. Wishes Brodrick were acquainted with Rumbold. The King desires Dr. Henchman<sup>4</sup> to stay with Mordaunt. Glad that Mordaunt is pleased with Massey and Titus; wishes he could bring Colonel Browne to his former confidence in Titus. The King, Ormonde, Nicholas<sup>5</sup> and writer are much concerned for Mordaunt's safety. Agrees with his view of the Catholics. Wishes Cronenburgh Castle were in English hands. Wishes Massey and Mr. Howe would confer about Gloucester. Encloses letters from the King to Sir William Waller and to Lord Manchester. The duke of Buckingham's aim is evident; Massey thinks he has no credit with Fairfax,<sup>6</sup> who might do service. Thinks the peace between France and Spain<sup>7</sup> might be made the occasion of attacking the present government, France having made peace and left England at war. Question of the future disposition of Dunkirk.]

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Brown and Mr. Newman are pseudonyms for Mordaunt (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 176).

<sup>2</sup> *John Thurloe* (1616-68), secretary of state; son of Thomas Thurloe, rector of Abbot's Roding, Essex; March 1652 appointed secretary of state and entrusted with the intelligence service; May 1655 given control of the posts (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1651-52, p. 198; 1655, p. 138); M.P. for Ely 1654, 1656, for Cambridge 1659; May 1659 lost his office but was restored to it 27 Feb. 1659-60 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1658-9, p. 357; *C.S.P.*, iii. 701). *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> *Sir Alan Brodrick*, royalist, 2nd son of St. John Brodrick, kinsman to Mordaunt (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 222) and to Edward Villiers (*ibid.*, iv. 157); engaged in royalist designs from 1656 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 239); used the pseudonym 'Hancock' in letters to Hyde (*ibid.*); member of the Sealed Knot (*C.S.P.*, iii. 466); 31 July-2 Nov. imprisoned in the Tower (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 59; *C.S.P.*, iii. 597); maintained belief in Willis (*C.S.P.*, iii. 562-4, 605).

<sup>4</sup> *Humphrey Henchman* (1592-1675), divine; 3rd son of Thomas Henchman, skinner, of London, but born at Barton Seagrove, Northants; deprived canon residentiary of Salisbury (Walker, *Sufferings of the clergy* (1714), ii. 264); April 1659 settled in Mordaunt's house (*C.S.P.*, iii. 490). *D.N.B.*

<sup>5</sup> *Sir Edward Nicholas* (1593-1669), secretary of state; eldest son of John Nicholas of Winterbourne Earls, Wilts; Nov. 1641 knighted and appointed secretary of state; from 1646 to the restoration in exile; 1651-54 at the Hague; Oct. 1654 appointed secretary of state and accompanied Charles II to Cologne; April 1656 at Bruges; after the restoration, at Brussels (*The Nicholas papers* (1888-1920)). *D.N.B.*

<sup>6</sup> *Thomas 3rd Lord Fairfax* (1612-72), parliamentarian general; son of 2nd Lord Fairfax of Denton, Yorks; 17 Feb. 1645 appointed commander-in-chief of the New Model army (Firth, *Regimental history*, i. xvii); 12 July 1650 commanded through disapproval of the war with Scotland; (Johnson, *The Fairfax family* (1848), i. cv); M.P. for Yorks, 1654, 1659; May 1659 elected to council of state but did not sit. From Nov. 1659 in negotiation with Monck and assisted his march into England (Baker, *Chronicle*, pp. 585-7, 594; Bell, *Memorials of the civil war* (1849), ii. 151 et seq.). *D.N.B.*

<sup>7</sup> 28 April/8 May 1659 France signed an armistice with Spain (Thurloe, *S.P.*, vii. 668); the Peace of the Pyrenees was not signed till 28 Oct./7 Nov. 1659 (Chéruel, *Histoire de France sous le ministère de Mazarin* (1882), iii. 254).

## 20. The lord chancellor to John Mordaunt.

[6/16 May 1659.—His <sup>1</sup> last was of 9 May under cover to Rumbold, containing the letters from the King asked for by Mordaunt. Has received Mordaunt's letters of 21 and 29 April. Cannot advise in view of the distractions in England. Suggests inciting the republicans against Cromwell's family. Hardly believes the parliament will be restored. Banishment <sup>2</sup> of royalists from London accentuates the difficulties arising from their lack of co-operation. Mordaunt should organise county defences. King is willing for Mr. Charlton to be joined to Mordaunt's commission. Mr. Baron just arrived. Sorry Massey <sup>3</sup> is dissatisfied; he is a man of great courage and integrity; has advised him to concentrate on the business of Gloucester and Bristol. Hopes Mr. Howe and Mr. Popham will co-operate with him. Mr. Baron will bring from the King the letters Mordaunt desires. That for Mr. Harlow to be given to Massey or Titus, who know him.]

## 21. The lord chancellor to the commissioners.

[Brussels, 6/16 May 1659.—Impossible <sup>4</sup> for his Majesty to give directions to his friends in the present confusions in England. Is concerned for their safety. Must leave to them the decision when action is possible. Great want in Flanders before the conclusion of peace. Ostend the only port from which the King could embark and that watched by those of Dunkirk. But if the King received the summons to come, he would transport his 3000 men with him. Believes those ministers would then assist him with the arms and ammunition promised <sup>5</sup> and with shipping at Ostend. Hopes his friends may secure a port near this coast.]

## 22. The lord chancellor to John Mordaunt.

[13/23 May 1659.—Has <sup>6</sup> received his letters of 29 April and 2 May and has sent the answers to his former letters by Baron. Will always reply as quickly as possible. Doubts if the Bristol scheme is possible without Popham. If Richard Cromwell wishes to be included, will not refuse him. King approves the declaration sent by Mordaunt. If Sir Horatio Townshend <sup>7</sup> continues firm, Lynn might be

<sup>1</sup> Printed in full in Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, pp. 198–200. Clarendon MSS., vol. lx, fos. 496–8. Draft by Bulteale, endorsed by Hyde.

<sup>2</sup> 24 April 1659 all Papists and cavaliers were banished 20 miles from London (Whitelocke, *Memorials*, p. 678).

<sup>3</sup> 22 April 1659 Massey to Nicholas (*The Nicholas papers*, iv (1920), 114–18).

<sup>4</sup> Printed in C.S.P., iii. 471–2, under date 16 May 1659, and title, 'The King to his friends'. Noted but not printed in Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, p. 200. Clarendon MSS., vol. lx, fos. 488–9. Draft by Hyde.

<sup>5</sup> By the treaty of 12 April 1656 with Charles II, Philip IV of Spain agreed to provide him with 4000 foot and 2000 horse, when a port for disembarkation in England had been secured, and enough money for the undertaking (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 110).

<sup>6</sup> Printed with omission of three passages in C.S.P., iii. 475–6. For the omitted paragraphs see Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, p. 200. Clarendon MSS., vol. lx, fos. 533–4. Draft, chiefly in Hyde's hand.

<sup>7</sup> Townshend agreed to raise the county of Norfolk, if Lynn were secured (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 205).

advantageously secured. Chester could be secured if Sir George Booth sure of Venables.<sup>1</sup> King does not think Lockhart has had dealings with Lord Jermyn.<sup>2</sup> Lockhart a very wary man, more likely to join the republicans, but if Sir H. Jones<sup>3</sup> likes to attempt him, the King is willing. Dangers of mistaking overtures of individuals for those of a party. Has doubts of Harlow. Palmer's advice is valuable to Mordaunt. If the design on Bristol and Gloucester could succeed, Royalists would rise elsewhere. King is willing to write letters, but must know to whom to be sent. Marquis of Hertford old and unwilling to correspond. Dr. Henchman suitable to take messages to him. Causes of delay in issuing Mordaunt's patent. Hopes W. Legge looks after plan for Windsor Castle. Coventry would be valuable if Lord Denbigh<sup>4</sup> could secure it.]

### 23. John Mordaunt to the lord chancellor.

[27 May 1659.—Has<sup>5</sup> spoken with Titus since last letter; he thinks design for Gloucester and Bristol stands fair; if so, the King should land 3000 men. But if that plan failed, 3000 men too few for the King to venture safely with. Hopes when peace concluded between France and Spain, the King will be able to secure men and vessels for transport. 5000 men needed; question whether to land them in Kent or Norfolk or further west. Two days' notice necessary before sailing so that horse can be gathered in England. Titus will give information as to the west whence he is returned. Is trying to raise money for the King, but terms on which offered too stringent. Thinks it necessary to act before the fleet<sup>6</sup> returns from the Sound or Lawson<sup>7</sup> comes out of the river. Hyde will hear from others of the

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Robert Venables (1612 ?–87), soldier; son of Robert Venables of Antrobus, Cheshire; colonel of Irish foot (Firth, *Regimental history*, ii. 666–8); commanded the unsuccessful expedition to Hispaniola in 1655 (*Narrative of General Venables*, edited Firth, R. Hist. Soc., Camden 3 ser., 1900); imprisoned and deprived of command on return (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1655, p. 327); June 1659 received a letter from the King through John Barwick (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 242); 25 Feb. 1659–60 governor of Chester (Barwick, *Life of Dr. John Barwick* (1724 edn)). D.N.B.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Jermyn, earl of St. Albans (d. 1684), royalist; 2nd son of Sir Thomas Jermyn of Rushbrooke, Suffolk; M.P. for Corfe Castle April and Nov. 1640; master of the horse to Queen Henrietta Maria, and in 1644 accompanied her to France; 1653 lord chamberlain and privy councillor (*The Nicholas papers*, ii. (1892), 18); acted as intermediary between the King and Cardinal Mazarin (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 490). D.N.B.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Henry Jones, possibly the 'Henry Jones' wounded at the battle of the Dunes, and described as 'a volunteer of Oxfordshire' on the King's side (Thurloe, *S.P.*, vii. 156); Jan. 1658–9 arrested on suspicion but discharged (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1658–59, pp. 281, 582); March 1659 declared for the King; in touch with Richard Cromwell (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 225).

<sup>4</sup> Basil Feilding, 2nd earl of Denbigh (c. 1608–75), parliamentarian; eldest son of William Feilding, 1st earl of Denbigh; 1649–51 member of the council of state, approached in 1658 and in 1659 by Will. Legge in a design for seizing Coventry (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 20; *C.S.P.*, iii. 476), D.N.B.

<sup>5</sup> Printed in Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, pp. 200–1. Clarendon MSS., vol. lxi. fos. 57–8. Copy by Henry Hyde endorsed by him, 'M. Mor. and M. Rumball'.

<sup>6</sup> The fleet under General Montagu left for the Sound in March 1659 (Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, i. 347); it returned at the end of Aug. 1659 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 163).

<sup>7</sup> Vice-admiral Sir John Lawson (d. 1665), parliamentarian; native of Scarborough; served in parliamentarian fleet from 1642; 1655–56 vice-admiral with Blake off Cadiz; strong Ana-



base resignation of Richard Cromwell<sup>1</sup> and of his brother. *Postscript*: Has assurance of a good sum of money procured through Lord Bruce.<sup>2]</sup>

#### 24. The lord chancellor to John Mordaunt.

[25 May/4 June 1659.—Acknowledges<sup>3</sup> his of the 16th May. Hopes Rumbold has received writer's of the 27th. Cannot say the King has secured any advantage from the peace between France and Spain; it is not fully concluded. King's reputation abroad would be enhanced if some considerable places in England were secured. Dutch have recognised the new government in England. Danger of Spain making a treaty with it. King hopes the design on Bristol and Gloucester will mature. If Lynn and Sandwich were secured, King would come quickly. Is glad to hear of the good intentions of Colonel Browne.<sup>4</sup> Is not writing to Lord Winchelsea,<sup>5</sup> as has no directions to give. Is sorry Colonel John Russell shews himself so wary. Sir Horatio Townshend's usefulness need not be lessened by his membership of the council of state. King is not sending letter to Colonel Norton, one already sent. Asks for more information as to Mr. Rumbold's<sup>6</sup> dealings with Lord Hertford, also more news of Mr. Brodrick. Repudiates the suggestion from self-interested persons that the King does not keep his word. Advises Mordaunt to make friends in the parliament and council, and to provoke dissensions between the army and the parliament. Thinks the forcible dissolution of parliament would benefit the King. Wishes Mordaunt to inform Mr. Charlton and Mr. Beverley<sup>7</sup>

baptist and republican; May 1659 re-appointed vice-admiral of the fleet (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 92); July 1659 summoned to the Downs to watch the coast of Flanders (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, pp. 52, 101); 13 Dec. 1659 declared for the restoration of parliament and entered the Thames (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 180; Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 298); 24 March 1659–60 reported as pledged to obey the directions of Montagu (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 618). *D.N.B.*

<sup>1</sup> 25 May 1659 Richard Cromwell submitted to the parliament (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1658–59, p. 356); Henry Cromwell resigned his office as lord lieutenant of Ireland 15 June 1659 (Thurloe, *S.P.*, vii. 683).

<sup>2</sup> Robert Bruce, 2nd earl of Elgin and 1st earl of Ailesbury (d. 1685), only son of Thomas lord Bruce, 1st earl of Elgin, whom he succeeded in 1663; May 1659 in touch with Sir George Booth, but did not rise in Aug. 1659 (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 195); arrested but released on security in Aug. 1659 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 112). *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> Printed in full in Hist. MSS. Comm., 10th Rep., 1887, App. vi, pp. 202–4. Extracts only printed in *C.S.P.*, iii. 480–1. Clarendon MSS., vol. lxi, fos. 26–9. Draft by Bulteale endorsed by Hyde.

<sup>4</sup> In the Clarendon MS. 'Major-general Browne'.

<sup>5</sup> Heneage Finch, 2nd earl of Winchelsea (d. 1689), royalist; son of Thomas 1st earl of Winchelsea; supported the King in the civil war; in 1655 involved in plans for the rising in Kent (Thurloe, *S.P.*, iii. 330); again involved for Kent in 1659 and arrested, but released on security 21 Sept. 1659 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, pp. 213, 218). *D.N.B.*

<sup>6</sup> In the Clarendon MS., 'Mr. Wright', Rumbold's pseudonym.

<sup>7</sup> ——— Beverley, lawyer of Lincoln's Inn (Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 572), his Christian name not ascertained; he was probably one of the three sons, James, Thomas and Robert Beverley, of James Beverley of Eaton Socon, Beds, all of whom were members of Lincoln's Inn (*Records of Lincoln's Inn*, vol. i. Admissions from 1420 to 1799 (1896), 205, 211); in May 1659 Beverley was in touch with Mordaunt and Andrew Newport (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 200) and in July was trying to secure a meeting between Major-general Browne and Captain Titus (Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 572).

of this view. Encloses a letter of thanks to the marquis of Hertford. Wishes Mordaunt could get acquainted with Lord Southampton,<sup>1</sup> who is likely to be of use in the business of Portsmouth. W. Legge is acquainted with him.]

## 25. Sir Edward Nicholas to John Mordaunt.

[25 May/4 June 1659.—Acknowledges<sup>2</sup> by Mr. Allestree<sup>3</sup> his of 11 May. Hopes Mordaunt is satisfied with the despatch brought to him by Baron. Mr. Brodrick is regarded as a very faithful person; he corresponds with Hyde and is much trusted by Sir Richard Willis. The lord chancellor will proceed with Mordaunt's patent when he receives the latter's reply on the subject. Is considering the matter concerning Mordaunt reported by Mr. Baron. The King highly appreciates Mordaunt's indefatigable industry. Writer will serve Mordaunt whenever possible.]

## 26. John Mordaunt to the lord chancellor.

[6 June 1659.—Mordaunt<sup>4</sup> does not wish opportunities lost, but he cannot advise the King to come, till friends in England are united. The 'wary gentlemen' differ from himself. But with the considerable persons now in the 'Trust', affairs are developing. Lord — [blank in MS.] came to Abscourt<sup>5</sup> that day to get advice. Sends letter by his kinsman Rowlandson,<sup>6</sup> who engaged in the civil war for the King. *Postscript*: Br.<sup>7</sup> — is indiscreet, he talks too freely in taverns. Mordaunt and Rumbold are in danger of being examined. Wishes the parliament were dissolved but does not think the army yet means to break it.]

## 27. The lord chancellor to John Mordaunt.

[27 May/6 June 1659.—Hopes<sup>8</sup> Mr. Cooper<sup>9</sup> reached Mordaunt with despatches

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Wriothesley, 4th earl of Southampton (1607–67), 2nd but eldest surviving son of Henry Wriothesley, 3rd earl of Southampton; from 1641 supported Charles I and attended his burial (Clarendon, *Hist.*, xi. 244); imprisoned for refusing to give security in 1655 (Thurloe, *S.P.*, iv. 234); sent the King supplies during the exile (Burnet, *History of my own time*, edited Airey (1897), i. 170). *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> Printed in full in Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, p. 201.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Richard Allestree (1619–81), royalist divine; son of Robert Allestree of Uppington, Salop; served in the King's army before taking orders; expelled from the University of Oxford for royalism; chaplain to the Hon. Francis Newport; in 1659 carried letters between Dr. Barwick and Hyde (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 135, 168); also in touch with Brodrick and Rumbold (*ibid.*, iv. 212); Jan. to March 1659–60 imprisoned in Lambeth palace (*ibid.*, iv. 523, 581). *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> Printed in full in Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, p. 204.

<sup>5</sup> Person and place unidentified.

<sup>6</sup> Unidentified, possibly a pseudonym.

<sup>7</sup> Brodrick; Mordaunt repeats this complaint in a letter to Hyde of 7 June 1659 (*C.S.P.*, iii. 483).

<sup>8</sup> Printed in full in Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, pp. 205–6. Clarendon MSS., vol. lxi, fos. 55–6. Draft, part by Bulteale, part holograph.

<sup>9</sup> John Cooper (d. 1672), royalist; 2nd son of Sir Roger Cooper of Thurston, Notts (Thoroton, *Antiquities of Nottinghamshire* (1677), iii. 59); from 1655 engaged in royalist conspiracy; for three years imprisoned (Thurloe, *S.P.*, iii. 229; iv. 484; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1658–59,

and the acknowledgement of his letter of 19 May to the King. Unlikely the King will obtain forces from France or Spain till peace concluded. Spain is very poor and unable to supply the King's great necessities. Peter Talbot<sup>1</sup> makes mischief with the Spanish court. The King's position abroad would improve if some substantial places in England were secured. He cannot give orders to his friends in England, but hopes if the army breaks the parliament, the opportunity will be used. The King welcomes the addition of Lord Willoughby and Sir Thomas Peyton to the 'Trust'. Hopes that through Lord Willoughby, Lynn may be secured and that Sir William Waller will persuade Lord Winchelsea not to aim at the supreme command in Kent. If a port could be secured, the King and the duke of York would come quickly.]

## 28. John Mordaunt to — [blank in MS.].

[7 June 1659.—Has<sup>2</sup> written fully to the lord chancellor. Will only ask his correspondent to press for the signing of writer's patent; will not urge the other matter, as it is a case of a reversion. Wishes to serve the King ultimately as one of the Bedchamber. Feels his obligations to correspondent and wishes to serve him. *Postscript*: Parliament has voted not to continue beyond 7 May 1660.<sup>3</sup> All commissions to be taken from it. Necessary for the King's friends to act quickly, but nothing can be done without the King or the duke of York. Parliament has voted commissioners for Ireland and the recall of Henry Cromwell.<sup>4</sup>]

## 29. John Mordaunt to the King.

[7 June 1659. Reports<sup>5</sup> the common discourse to be 'No peace to England without the King', yet no one willing to begin a war. This due to the wariness of the Knot which seeks to gain adherents. Had secured £20,000 from a worthy subject, but the Knot insisted on conditions as to its expenditure. Lady Devonshire<sup>6</sup> and another lady concerned in this matter. The Knot has discouraged Lord Willoughby. W. Legge wishes the King would land anywhere with 1000 men. An opportunity lost in the past six weeks. Will do all they can to prevent a settlement. Harrison<sup>7</sup> must be cajoled. Many think the King should take the risks

p. 178); used the pseudonyms 'Mr. Crinson', 'Jo Roberts', 'Jo. Collins', 'Jo. Thornton' in letters to Hyde (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 193, 220, 410, 430); on bad terms with Mordaunt (*C.S.P.*, iii. 688).

<sup>1</sup> See on Talbot's intrigues, Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, i. 397, 404.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in full in *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, pp. 206-7, as addressed to (Secretary Nicholas); the reference to Mordaunt's patent for the viscounty makes this probable.

<sup>3</sup> 6 June 1659 (*C.J.*, vii. 673).

<sup>4</sup> 7 June the house voted that the government of Ireland should be intrusted to five commissioners, and recalled Henry Cromwell (*C.J.*, vii. 674, 678).

<sup>5</sup> Printed in full in *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, pp. 207-8.

<sup>6</sup> *Christiana*, Countess of Devonshire (1595-1675), daughter of Edward Bruce, 1st Lord Kinloss, married William Cavendish, 2nd earl of Devonshire, who died in 1628 (*The Complete Peerage*, iv (1916), 340-1).

<sup>7</sup> Major-general Thomas Harrison (1606-60), regicide; son of a butcher or grazier of Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffs.; 1643-47 major in Fleetwood's regiment of horse (Firth, *Regimental*

and come. Was coming to the King but was advised by Titus to remain in England. Hopes the propositions from Ireland may be well received. Signed by Willoughby of Parham, Sir George Booth, Mr. Newport, Mordaunt, W. Legge, Sir William Waller, W. Rumbold, Mr. Charlton.]

### 30. Sir Robert Howard to John Mordaunt.

[June 1659.—Will<sup>1</sup> await Mordaunt's return in London. The business of Staffordshire developing satisfactorily. Proffers his services to the King; desires a right use may be made of these distractions. It is essential the King should come over, will discuss with Mordaunt where he can land most safely.]

### 31. Part of a letter from — [blank in MS.] to the King, the other part being lost.

[June 1659.—Has<sup>2</sup> pressed Mr. R(ussell) and Sir W(illiam) C(ompton) to send to the King Sir John Boys,<sup>3</sup> Sir Anthony Eger,<sup>4</sup> Sir Tho(mas) Peyton prudent men and good subjects in Kent; Sir J(ohn) G(renville) reports Ceynwall and Devon will only engage after a landing of forces from abroad. A letter from the King would be useful for (Colonel) R(ossiter).<sup>5</sup> The engagement for Norfolk favourable, but uncertain how long Whitelocke<sup>6</sup> will be there in command. Lord O(xford)<sup>7</sup>

*history*, i. 91), supported the army against the parliament, and was a regicide; April 1653 urged the expulsion of the Rump (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, i. 346); a republican and Fifth Monarchist, was 1655–56 imprisoned by Cromwell (*ibid.*, i. 380); in 1659 had considerable influence in the army; 13 Oct. 1660 executed as a regicide. *D.N.B.*

<sup>1</sup> Printed in full in Hist. MSS. Comm., 10th Rep., 1887, App. vi, p. 210.

*Sir Robert Howard* (1628–98), royalist and dramatist; 6th son of Thomas Howard, 1st earl of Berkshire; imprisoned in Windsor Castle for royalism under the Commonwealth. *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> The letter is from Mordaunt to the King, 6 June 1659. It is in Clarendon MSS., vol. lxi, fos. 110–11, in deciphered cipher. In the Mordaunt MS. names are generally only indicated by initials; brackets indicate where this is so. Printed in *C.S.P.*, iii. 482–3, headed 'Mr. Mordaunt to the King', with the opening sentence missing in the Mordaunt MS.

<sup>3</sup> *Sir John Boys* (1607–64), royalist; eldest son of Edward Boys of Bonnington, Kent; defended Donnington Castle 1644 (Clarendon, *Hist.*, viii. 113, 152); 1656 in touch with the King (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 112); 1658–Feb. 1659–60 imprisoned in Dover Castle (Thurloe, *S.P.*, vii. 306); engaged for rising in Kent in 1659–60 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 233, 235, 549). *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>5</sup> *Colonel Edward Rossiter* (1617–69), parliamentarian; son of Richard Rossiter of Somerby, Lincs.; colonel of Lincolnshire regiment of horse 1644–47 (Firth, *Regimental history*, i. 163 et seq.); lost his command in 1647 owing to presbyterian opinions; c. 1646 M.P. for Grimsby; engaged with Sir William Waller and other presbyterians for the rising of 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 157); 23 Feb. 1659–60 member of the council of state (Firth, *op. cit.*, i. 174); March 1660 governor of Hull (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 594).

<sup>6</sup> *Sir James Whitelocke* (1631–1701), parliamentarian; eldest son of Bulstrode Whitelocke, commissioner of the Great Seal; served in Cromwell's life-guard in Ireland, and was knighted by Cromwell in 1657; in June 1659 was in command of the garrison of Lynn (Firth, *Regimental history*, i. 98); M.P. Aylesbury 1659. *D.N.B.*

<sup>7</sup> *Aubrey de Vere*, 20th earl of Oxford (1626–1703), royalist; eldest son of Robert de Vere, 19th earl of Oxford; had his estates sequestered for royalism in 1651, and was imprisoned in 1654; engaged in royalist intrigues in 1656–57 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 373); was engaged for the rising of 1659, but did not rise (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 235, 369); arrested in Aug. 1659, sent to the Tower but released on security in Sept. 1659 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, pp. 112, 229). *D.N.B.*

can be relied on ; is not sure of Lord W(arwick).<sup>1</sup> Lord M(aynard),<sup>2</sup> Sir W(illiam) C(ompton) are in a knot. The association of Sir H(enry) W(roth)<sup>3</sup> will be considerable especially if Lord M(anchester) joins. Lord C(hesterfield)<sup>4</sup> and B(ooth) have sent to the King ; Booth is excellently disposed ; Lord N(orthampton)<sup>5</sup> highly diligent ; hopes by him to engage Lord S(outhampton) ; T(itus) has fixed South Wales, Sir H(enry) L(ingen)<sup>6</sup> Herefordshire ; Lord W(indsor),<sup>7</sup> Sir (Ralph) Clare,<sup>8</sup> Charles L(yttelton)<sup>9</sup> ; Sam Sands<sup>10</sup> for Worcestershire. If P(opham), H(owe), Lord D(owne)<sup>11</sup> and Lord F(alkland) co-operate and Titus secures Warwick

<sup>1</sup> *Charles Rich, 4th earl of Warwick* (d. 1673), 2nd son of Robert Rich, 2nd earl of Warwick ; succeeded to the earldom in May 1659 on the death of his brother Robert, the 3rd earl ; engaged for Essex in the rising of 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 329). *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> *William Lord Maynard* of Estaines, also Baron Maynard of Wicklow (1623–99), parliamentarian ; opposed to the trial of Charles I ; imprisoned in 1655 (*C.S.P.*, iii. 79) ; engaged in 1659 for the rising in Norfolk and the design to secure Yarmouth (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 227 ; *The Complete Peerage*, viii. 600–1).

<sup>3</sup> *Sir Henry Wroth* (d. 1671), royalist ; 2nd son of Henry Wroth of Woodbury, Herts ; knighted at Oxford 15 Sept. 1645 ; compounded for delinquency, described as 'gentleman pensioner to the King', of Durance, Middlesex (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, part ii, 1567) ; engaged for the rising of 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 235). *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> *Philip Stanhope, 2nd earl of Chesterfield* (1633–1713), royalist ; son of Sir Henry Stanhope, and grandson of Philip 1st earl of Chesterfield ; educated in Holland but returned to England in 1652 ; succeeded to earldom in 1656 ; engaged for the rising of 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 288) ; Sept. 1659 committed to the Tower on suspicion of complicity in the rising, but released on security (*Cal. C.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, pp. 164, 240). *D.N.B.*

<sup>5</sup> *James Compton, 3rd earl of Northampton* (1622–81), royalist ; eldest son of Spencer Compton, 2nd earl of Northampton of Compton Wynnyates, Warwickshire : succeeded to earldom 1643 ; imprisoned for refusing to pay the decimation in 1656 (*The Nicholas papers*, iii. 252) ; engaged for the rising of 1659, but did not rise (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 270 ; *Carte, Ormonde papers*, ii. 227) ; imprisoned in the Tower, Sept. 1659 (*ibid.*).

<sup>6</sup> *Sir Henry Lingen* (1612–62), royalist ; eldest son of Edward Lingen of Sutton Frene, Herefordshire ; fought in the royal cause in the first and second civil wars in Herefordshire (Webb, *Memorials of the civil war in Herefordshire* (1879), i. 300) ; *D.N.B.*

<sup>7</sup> *Thomas Windsor, 7th Baron Windsor of Stanwell and 1st earl of Plymouth* (1627?–87), royalist ; son of Dixie Hickman of Kew and nephew of the 6th Baron Windsor of Stanwell ; compounded for his estate, 1646, and in 1651 had to give security for good behaviour (Willis Bund, *The civil war in Worcestershire* (1905), p. 182). *D.N.B.*

<sup>8</sup> *Sir Ralph Clare* (1587–1670), royalist ; eldest son of Sir Francis Clare of Caldwell, Worcestershire ; took part in the defence of Worcester in the civil war (Willis Bund, *op. cit.*, pp. 188–90) ; opposed to Richard Baxter in Kidderminster (Richard Baxter, *Autobiography*, ed. Lloyd Thomas (1926), pp. 83, 159). *D.N.B.*

<sup>9</sup> *Sir Charles Lyttelton* (1629–1716), royalist ; younger son of Sir Thomas Lyttelton of Frankley, Worcestershire ; fought at Colchester 1648 ; imprisoned but escaped abroad and became cup-bearer to Charles II (Nash, *Collections for the history of Worcestershire* (1781), i. 50) ; engaged for Shrewsbury for the rising of 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 236) ; Sept. escaped to Calais (*ibid.*, iv. 389) ; closely engaged with Mordaunt, 1659–60. *D.N.B.*

<sup>10</sup> *Colonel Samuel Sandys*, royalist, of Ombersley, Worcestershire ; governor of Evesham and Worcester in the first civil war, engaged in the defence of Worcester and Hartlebury Castle (Willis Bund, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 182) ; compounded for estate in 1646, but not finally discharged from sequestration till 1652 (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, ii. 1296).

<sup>11</sup> *Sir Thomas Pope*, 2nd earl of Downe (1622–60), eldest son of Sir William Pope, and grandson of Sir William Pope, 1st earl of Downe, whom he succeeded in 1631 ; supported the King in the first civil war ; after the discharge of his estate, Wilcote, Oxon, from sequestration in 1651, travelled abroad (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, ii. 934). *D.N.B.*

Castle, the King will see cheerful days. Will take particular care of the design for Surrey, Sussex, and Windsor Castle. Will Legge is useful. Wishes Titus sent speedily, if the King decides to come.]

### 32. The lord chancellor to John Mordaunt.

[3/13 June 1659.—Acknowledges <sup>1</sup> Mordaunt's letter of 27 May. His letters and Rumbold's arriving safely. Impossible for the King to transport himself and troops to England till peace between France and Spain concluded. Why has the design on Bristol and Gloucester not been executed? Has not heard from Massey or Titus. If Mordaunt can secure money, the King is willing it should be issued through persons approved by the donors. Would like a list of the members of parliament. Wishes to know if Mordaunt still thinks favourably of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper<sup>2</sup> and if he received the King's letter. Has gathered from a letter of Baron to Nicholas that jealousies remain among the King's friends. He will not gratify some by disobliging those who have served him faithfully.]

### 33. John Mordaunt to the King.

[20 June 1659.—Has <sup>3</sup> engaged Lord Willoughby to bring those gentlemen to agree to his own opinion for definite action. Thinks three weeks' notice for the rising too long. Supposes Colonel Po(pham) may give the King an account from them. Has hopes Henry Cromwell<sup>4</sup> will stand out.]

### 34. The King to John Mordaunt.

[10/20 June 1659.—Acknowledges <sup>5</sup> Mordaunt's letter of 3 June; welcomes new supporters, regrets the wariness of others. The King is willing that those who send the £20,000 mentioned by Mordaunt, should choose those to disburse it, on arms and shipping. Unless some action in England increases the King's reputa-

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, p. 209, except the ending, 'I have no more to add but that I am very faithfully, Sir, your most affectionate humble servant, Ed. Hyde.' The second half of the letter, beginning 'It is indeed great pity', is printed in *C.S.P.*, iii. 487-8. Clarendon MSS., vol. lxi, fos. 81-2. Draft by Bulteale, endorsed by Hyde.

<sup>2</sup> *Anihony Ashley Cooper, 1st earl of Shaftesbury* (1621-83), politician, eldest son of John Cooper of Rockbourne, Hants; M.P. for Tewkesbury April 1640; returned on disputed election war; M.P. for Wiltshire 1653 (July) and 1654; member of the council of state but did not sit after Dec. 1654; M.P. for Wiltshire 1656 but excluded; sat for Wiltshire in Jan. 1658 and in 1659; reported as engaged for the rising of 1659 (*C.S.P.*, iii. 478) but did not rise; suspected of complicity but exonerated (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, pp. 143, 194); Nov.-Dec. 1659 intriguing to restore the Rump (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 205); engaged in the restoration of the secluded members and of the King (Baker, *Chronicle*, pp. 600, 614). *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> Printed in full in Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, p. 210.

<sup>4</sup> Henry Cromwell resigned his office on 15 June 1659 (Thurloe, *S.P.*, vii. 683).

<sup>5</sup> Printed in *C.S.P.*, iii. 498-9. Noted but not printed in Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, p. 210. Clarendon MSS., vol. lxi, fos. 150-1. Draft by Hyde.

tion, he cannot expect help from abroad. Ostend the only port available. If no signal arrives to come to England, the King will go incognito to the cardinal <sup>1</sup> and Don Luis de Haro <sup>2</sup> at the beginning of Aug. But if the situation changed in England, would alter plans and come. Will leave the chancellor and secretary at Brussels with orders to keep the troops <sup>3</sup> in Flanders in readiness. Hopes the design on Bristol and Gloucester will be revived.]

### 35. The lord chancellor to John Mordaunt.

[10/20 June 1659.—Acknowledges <sup>4</sup> his of the 3rd. Will proceed to prepare Mordaunt's patent if he desires, but is unwilling to endanger him by its becoming known. Longs for the arrival of Titus. Has heard from Colonel Russell, Sir William Compton, and Sir Richard Willis. They entirely trust Brodrick. Monck warned Cromwell against Willis as a dangerous person. Lord Bellasis and Ned Villiers <sup>5</sup> communicate little with the others. Hopes matters will be improved by Armorer's negotiations with Mordaunt, and Russell and Rumbold's relations with Brodrick. Hopes to hear that Harrison's party will cause the army to dissolve the parliament. Deprecates plots for the King's restoration by papists; hopes it will come without foreign aid. Has no knowledge of the fleet or of Henry Cromwell or Monck. *Postscript*: Asks if it is possible to get petitions in parliament for the removal of persons known as instruments of tyranny.]

### 36. John Mordaunt to — [blank in MS.].

[*Undated*.—Will <sup>6</sup> receive a full account from Titus so will only state what has passed since he left. Preparations of Sir George Booth in Cheshire, Sir H. Townshend in Norfolk, Sir John Boys, Lord Willoughby, Sir Thomas Peyton and writer engage for Kent, Surrey, Sussex; by Lord Manchester's agency, Lords Warwick, Saye <sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cardinal Mazarin (1602–61).

<sup>2</sup> Don Luis de Haro, chief minister of Philip IV from 1643 till his death in 1661.

<sup>3</sup> For the condition of the King's troops in Flanders, see Firth, 'Royalist and Cromwellian armies in Flanders, 1657–62', *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.*, vol. xvii (1903), pp. 97–100.

<sup>4</sup> Printed but without the postscript in *C.S.P.*, iii. 495–6. The postscript alone is printed in *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, p. 210. Clarendon MSS., vol. lxi, fos. 158–9. Draft by Bulteale.

<sup>5</sup> Sir Edward Villiers (1620–89), royalist; 4th son of Sir Edward Villiers, president of Munster; colonel in royalist forces in the first civil war (Warburton, *Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers* (1849), ii. 424); from 1654 engaged in royalist correspondence under the pseudonym 'Fitch' (*Cal. C.S.P.*, ii. 440; iii. 212); cousin of Brodrick (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 149). *D.N.B.*

<sup>6</sup> Written to Hyde, 16 June 1659, Clarendon MSS., vol. lxi, fos. 204–5; printed in full in *C.S.P.*, iii. 489–90, noted but not printed in *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, p. 209. The original is in deciphered cipher. In the Mordaunt MS. proper names are indicated by numerical cipher, or by initials, often transposed.

<sup>7</sup> William Fiennes, 1st Viscount Saye and Sele (1582–1662), parliamentarian, supported the opposition to Charles I in the long parliament and in the civil war in Oxfordshire (Clarendon, *Hist.*, iii. 26; vi. 409–10; vii. 375); one of the commissioners for the treaty of Newport (*ibid.*, xi. 155); invited but refused to sit in Cromwell's 'Other House'; in 1658 described as favourable to the restoration of the King, but only on the terms of the Isle of Wight articles (*C.S.P.*,

and Robartes<sup>1</sup> will be made useful; Lord Northampton really industrious. Lord Oxford, Colonel Russell, Lord Maynard and Sir H. Wroth with Sir W. Compton, Sir R. Willis and the Fanshaws<sup>2</sup> act together. If the war begins in Sussex, and the plans of A. Popham, Lord Falkland,<sup>3</sup> Mr. Howe, and Mr. Talbot<sup>4</sup> do not fail, Sir J. Grenville and Sir Chichester Wrey<sup>5</sup> say Devon and Cornwall will act their part; has prepared there, through Sir George Booth and Sir William Waller the presbyterians, Mr. Rolle,<sup>6</sup> Sir John Northcote,<sup>7</sup> and Mr. Boscawen.<sup>8</sup> Charles Lyttleton responsible for the design on Worcester; will join with Gloucester, iii. 392; approached for the rising of 1659 but did not rise (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 388); sat in the convention parliament. *D.N.B.*

<sup>1</sup> *John Lord Robartes, 1st earl of Radnor* (1606–85), parliamentarian; eldest son of Richard Baron Robartes of Truro, whom he succeeded in 1634; led the parliamentarian cause in Cornwall and Devon 1642–48 (Coate, *Cornwall in the great civil war*, 1933); opposed to the trial of the King and obliged in 1650 to live in Essex under security for good behaviour (*ibid.*, p. 254); approached by royalists in 1659, but did not rise. *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> *Sir Richard Fanshawe* (1606–66), royalist; 5th son of Sir Henry Fanshawe of Ware Park, Herts; 1644 secretary of war to the Prince of Wales; 1650 in Madrid (*Cal. C.S.P.*, ii. 51, 92); fought at Worcester and in 1651 imprisoned; 1652–58 lived in retirement in England; from April 1659 was in Paris, appointed Latin secretary and a master of requests (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 230). *D.N.B.*

*Sir Thomas Fanshawe, 1st Viscount Fanshawe* of Dromore (1596–1665), elder brother of Sir Richard Fanshawe; M.P. for Hertford 1624, 1625, for Lancaster 1625–26, 1627–28, for Hertford Nov. 1640; fought on King's side in first civil war; 1649 compounded for delinquency (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, iii. 1864); arrested Sept. 1659 on suspicion of complicity in the rising but discharged (*ibid.*). *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> *Henry Carey, 4th Viscount Falkland* (1634–63), 2nd son of Lucius Carey, 2nd viscount, succeeded on the death of his brother in 1649; M.P. for Oxon 1659; March 1659 actively engaged for the rising of 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 166); responsible for the design on Warwick Castle (*ibid.*, p. 209); Aug. 1659 committed to the Tower on suspicion (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–1660, pp. 105, 242). (*The Complete Peerage*, v (1926), 241.)

<sup>4</sup> *John Talbot* (d. 1677), royalist; son of Sherrington Talbot, of Salwarpe, Worcestershire; M.P. for Worcestershire 1658–59 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 134, 141); engaged for the design on Bristol, Gloucester and Warwick Castle (*ibid.*, pp. 209, 280); Aug. 1659 arrested but released on security (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, pp. 77, 137).

<sup>5</sup> *Sir Chichester Wrey* (c. 1629–68), royalist; son of Sir William Wrey, bart., of Trebigh House, St. Ives, Cornwall; fought in the civil war in the west in royal forces and from 1650 engaged in royalist designs in the west with Sir John Grenville (Coate, *Cornwall in the great civil war* (1933), pp. 64, 256; *Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 235).

<sup>6</sup> *Robert Rolle*, parliamentarian; son of Robert Rolle of Heanton, Devon; supported the parliamentary cause in Devon from 1647; M.P. for Devonshire 1654, 1656, 1658–59; approached by royalists and presbyterians for the rising of 1659, but did not join actively (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 276); Jan. 1659–60 member of the council of state (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 307); engaged in the Devonshire address to Monck for the re-admission of the secluded members Jan. 1659–60 (*The Clarke papers*, iv. 258; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 330).

<sup>7</sup> *Sir John Northcote* (1599–1676), parliamentarian; son of John Northcote of Hayne, Devon; M.P. for Ashburton Nov. 1640; for Devon, 1654, 1656, 1658–59; excluded Dec. 1648; supported the parliamentary cause in Devon from 1640; engaged by presbyterians and royalists for the rising in 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 236); involved in tumults in Exeter, Feb. 1659–60, against the Rump, and arrested (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 366). *D.N.B.*

<sup>8</sup> *Hugh Boscawen* (1625–1701), parliamentarian; 2nd son of Hugh Boscawen of Tregothnan, Cornwall; M.P. for Cornwall 1646; secluded Dec. 1648; M.P. Cornwall 1658–59; involved in the presbyterian and royalist designs of 1659 (*C.S.P.*, iii. 489–90); supported the expulsion of soldiers from Exeter and the securing Pendennis Castle from sectaries Jan. 1659–60 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 511, 525).



Hereford or Shrewsbury. Supposes Lord Chesterfield will join with Lord Byron,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Stanhope,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Freshville<sup>3</sup> and Mr. Vernon,<sup>4</sup> Colonel Rossiter with Lord Willoughby, and Sir John Munson<sup>5</sup> with Lord Castleton<sup>6</sup> in Lincolnshire. No information as to Yorkshire and the northern counties, Sir Charles Howard undependable. Sir Ashley Cooper is 'rotten'. The presbyterians have collected arms and money, but demand the articles of the Isle of Wight. Sir H. Vane<sup>7</sup> has a design to settle Lambert. H. Baron has secured Mr. Tyrringham<sup>8</sup> for Bucks. Dr. Henchman stays with writer, he has made the passage by Mr. Dawson<sup>9</sup> useful. *Postscript*: wishes to be remembered to Ormonde.]

### 37. John Mordaunt to Hartgill Baron.

[2 July 1659.—Wary<sup>10</sup> gentlemen obstruct action; Sir John Boys and W. Legge

<sup>1</sup> *Richard and Lord Byron* (1605–79), royalist; 2nd son of Sir John Byron of Newstead Abbey, Notts; succeeded his brother the 1st Lord Byron in 1652; governor of Newark 1643–44 (Wood, *Nottinghamshire in the civil war* (1937), p. 55); imprisoned in 1655 (*The Nicholas papers*, ii (1892), 336); rose, but ineffectively, in Aug. 1659 in Sherwood Forest (Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 176–8). *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> *John Stanhope* of Derbyshire, royalist; 1657–58 engaged by Rumbold for a rising in Derbyshire or Staffs (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 21); estate secured in Sept. 1659 on suspicion of complicity in the rising (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, v. 3249).

<sup>3</sup> *John Freshville*, royalist, of Staveley, Derbyshire; colonel in royal forces (Thurloe, *S.P.*, iv. 509); regarded as disaffected in 1655–56 (*ibid.*); engaged by Mordaunt for the rising of 1659 (*C.S.P.*, iii. 490).

<sup>4</sup> *Edward Vernon*, royalist; son of Sir Edward Vernon of Sudbury, Derbyshire; colonel of horse in the royal army; compounded in 1646 (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, ii. 1373); engaged in 1658 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 21) and 1659 for the rising in Staffs and Derbyshire (*C.S.P.*, iii. 490).

<sup>5</sup> *Sir John Mounson* (1600–83), royalist; son of Sir Thomas Mounson, baronet; M.P. for Lincoln 1625, for Lincolnshire 1626; succeeded his father 1641; 1642–46 in Oxford; Dec. 1655 imprisoned for refusing to pay decimation and imprisoned at home till Jan. 1656–57 (*The Nicholas papers*, iii (1897), 215); June 1659 engaged for Lincolnshire (*C.S.P.*, iii. 490). *D.N.B.*

<sup>6</sup> *George Saunderson*, 5th Viscount Castleton (1631–1714), royalist, of Granthorp, Lincolnshire; compounded in 1646 (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, ii. 1151); succeeded his brother as viscount in 1650 (*The Complete Peerage*, iii (1913), 100); engaged but did not rise effectively in 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 418); Sept. 1659 imprisoned (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 217).

<sup>7</sup> *Sir Henry Vane* (1613–62), diplomatist and republican; eldest son of Sir Henry Vane, secretary of state; 1640 knighted; M.P. for Hull, April and Nov. 1640; one of the commissioners for the parliament in the treaty with the Scots in 1643, at Uxbridge (1645) and at Newport (1648); took no part in the trial of the King; was a member of the council of state under the commonwealth, but opposed the protectorate; imprisoned Sept. to Dec. 1656 (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 16); M.P. for Whitchurch 1658–59; led the commonwealth party in opposition (Burton, *Diary*, edited Rutt (1828), iv. 305, 339); fifth-monarchist in religion; 13 Oct. to 26 Dec. 1659 endeavoured to form a government (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 149, 181); expelled and imprisoned by the parliament, Jan.–Feb. 1659–60 (*ibid.*, ii. 201; *Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 544); executed 14 June 1662. *D.N.B.*

<sup>8</sup> *Colonel William Tyrringham*, royalist; brother of Sir John Tyrringham of Tyrringham, Bucks; compounded in 1645 (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, ii. 935); from 1657 engaged in royalist designs (Thurloe, *S.P.*, vi. 569); July 1658 arrested but released (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1658–59, p. 93); engaged for Bucks, in the rising of 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 310); arrested Aug. 1659 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 125).

<sup>9</sup> *John Dawson*, royalist, of Westenhanger, Kent; 1651 compounded (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, i. 461); engaged for the rising of 1659 (*C.S.P.*, iii. 490); escaped to Calais Sept. 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 358); engaged for Kent in Dec. 1659 (*ibid.*, iv. 480).

<sup>10</sup> Printed in full in Hist. MSS. Comm., 10th Rep., 1887, App. vi, p. 210.

still for it, but Mr. R(ussell?) against it. The King offered Mr. R(ussell) and Sir Will(iam Compton) their shares in the Trust, but they refused. Wishes Baron to see his letter to the King. Mr. Br(odrick) and his friends will serve writer and friends as they did Penruddock.<sup>1</sup> All fair at Bristol, but through Brodrick, writer and others in danger of examination. Asks Baron to ascertain when the chancellor requires the fees for Mordaunt's patent. Wishes the King to write a kind letter to Lord Northampton, who deserves it.]

### 38. John Mordaunt to the King.

[6 July 1659.—Deplores<sup>2</sup> the want of courage and the sloth of the King's party; yet in England universal disposition to his restoration. Titus present at recent council and well received. Massey reported design for Bristol and Gloucester and South Wales well in hand. But arms and ammunition short. Lord Willoughby sent Titus to buy arms in Holland to be landed at or near Lynn. Sir Thomas Peyton responsible for Kent. If Sir John Grenville and Colonel Arundell<sup>3</sup> can send to St. Malo, they could be well provided. Sir Charles Wolseley<sup>4</sup> and Sir John Whitcroft<sup>5</sup> answer for Staffs. Has sent Mr. B(aron) to Mr. Palmer with the King's message,<sup>6</sup> but he is too old to take active part. A letter from the fleet gives some hope of Montagu. If the treaty with Monck succeeded the game would be fair. The duke of York had hopes of arms and foot from France,<sup>7</sup> if these were secured, the King's reputation in England would rise. Has not forgotten the proposals as to Dunkirk, but things there quieter than when writer was at Brussels.<sup>8</sup>]

<sup>1</sup> *John Penruddock* (1619–55), royalist; eldest son of Sir John Penruddock of Compton Chamberlayne, Wilts; rose in rebellion at Salisbury, March 1655; tried and executed for treason at Exeter 9 May 1655 (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, i. 403–5; Thurloe, *S.P.*, iii. 237, 263, 394); Firth, 'Cromwell and the insurrection of 1655', *E.H.R.* (April 1888). *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> Printed in full in Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, p. 211. Clarendon MSS., vol. lxi, fos. 391–2; 6 July, printed in *C.S.P.*, iii. 516, is a different letter from Mordaunt to the King.

<sup>3</sup> *Colonel Richard Arundell* (d. 1687), royalist; 1st Baron Arundell of Trerice; 2nd son of Sir John Arundell of Trerice; M.P. for Lostwithiel April and Nov. 1640; fought in royalist forces in Cornwall and in the defence of Pendennis (Coate, *Cornwall in the great civil war* (1933), p. 238); estates sequestered for seven years (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, i. 117; iii. 2237–8); engaged in royalist conspiracy in the west from 1650 (Thurloe, *S.P.*, iii. 457; Coate, *op. cit.*, p. 255); engaged under pseudonym 'Mr. Trigg' in correspondence with Grenville and Hyde for a rising in the west in 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 258) but did not rise; again engaged, Jan. 1659–60. *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> *Sir Charles Wolseley* (1630?–1714), parliamentarian; son of Sir Robert Wolseley of Wolseley, Staffs; M.P. for Oxon 1653, for Staffs 1654, 1656, 1660; member of the council of state and of the Other House (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, i. 371; Whitelocke, *Memorials of the English affairs*, p. 665). *D.N.B.*

<sup>5</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>6</sup> John Mordaunt went to Brussels to see the King after 23 June 1659 (*C.S.P.*, iii. 511); he returned with Titus before 6 July.

<sup>7</sup> Marshal Turenne's offer to assist the duke of York with men and money for transportation to England was made in Aug. 1659 (Carte, *Ormonde*, iii. 683–4).

<sup>8</sup> In June occurred a mutiny for want of pay of the English garrison in Dunkirk (*The Clarke papers*, iv (1901), 282).

## 39. John Mordaunt to Hartgill Baron.

[7 July 1659.—Found <sup>1</sup> the Knot had discouraged all when he returned. The militia settles too fast, but there are daily offers from considerable men. Is looked for at the ports and in town by Sir Henry Vane. Went to his heart that he had to send Baron's brother to stop the King.<sup>2</sup> Letters written by some near the King discourage men here. Urgent need of arms; the King now has the money for them. Cromwell's interest again appearing and the council nearly concluded on a single person. Desires Baron to take writer's patent and keep it. The next day they come to a conclusion, let the King be ready.]

## 40. The King to divers engaged persons of quality in England.

[Brussels, 28 June/8 July 1659.—Is <sup>3</sup> satisfied that his presence in England is necessary. Will set out from Brussels on Monday, 11/21 July. His brother, at the same time, will be in England in another place. Credit is to be given to Mr. Mordaunt, with whom the writer has conferred at large. If his friends in England find it necessary to their preservation to take to arms before he comes, he will come as soon as possible.]

## 41. Lord Mordaunt to the King.

[10 July 1659.—Divergence <sup>4</sup> of opinion among the King's friends. Has courted Mr. R(ussell) and Sir W. C(ompton), but fears they secretly disparage all plans. So far no one has been arrested or examined. Had offered to quit his share of the Trust, if Mr. R(ussell) and Sir W. C(ompton) wished, but they did not wish him to do so. But they remain sceptical and unfortunately they influence others; men are uncertain whom to obey. Some think the King should not land without 7000 men, others that his arrival would settle matters. 200 <sup>5</sup> officers have been cashiered from the army and anabaptists and sectaries put in their places. The wary gentlemen want the King to come, but will not take the risk of action. If the King and the duke of York decide to come, they must write to these considerable persons. The preparations for the rising stand fair. Is willing to lay down his life for the King.]

<sup>1</sup> Printed in full in *C.S.P.*, iii. 518–19. Clarendon MSS., vol. lxi, fos. 393–4, chiefly deciphered, cipher. Noted but not printed in *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> The King had arranged to set out for England on Monday, 11/21 July. Hartgill Baron's brother, John Baron, left Calais for Brussels on 9/19 July with Mordaunt's letter to stop the King from coming, in view of the changed situation in England. Hartgill Baron followed and met his brother 10/20 July near Calais. (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 267, 269)

<sup>3</sup> Printed in full in *C.S.P.*, iii. 519–20, under the title, 'The King to Mr. Mordaunt'. Clarendon MSS., vol. lxi, fo. 340. Draft by Hyde endorsed by him, 'The King to Mr. Mor'. Dated 29 June/9 July. Noted but not printed in *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> Printed in full in *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, pp. 212–13. 10 July 1659 John Mordaunt was created Baron Mordaunt of Reigate in Surrey, and Viscount Mordaunt of Avalon in Somerset.

<sup>5</sup> 13 May 1659. The restored parliament appointed seven commissioners for the nomination of officers and numerous changes in commands were made (*The Clarke papers*, iv (1901), 21; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1658–59, June 1659).

## 42. Lord Mordaunt to the King.

[11 July 1659.—Reports <sup>1</sup> a meeting on previous Saturday, <sup>2</sup> Lord Willoughby, Sir John Grenville, Major-general Massey, Sir Thomas Peyton, Mr. Newport, Captain Titus and the writer. The Knot was invited to attend but neither came nor sent. That day three weeks <sup>3</sup> was appointed for the rising. Lord Northampton came after the resolution taken and approved it. Mr. N(ewport) <sup>4</sup> doubted whether there were enough arms for the rising. Lambert rules the army. The common-wealth's men pretend they will own the King's interest, but unless his friends reorganise, every party will give us the law. Grieves at the general slothfulness of the King's party. Major-general Browne begins to lay it to heart. Will try to procure money for the King's service.]

## 43. From ——— [blank in MS.] to Lord Mordaunt.

[2/12 July 1659. Has <sup>5</sup> received the previous day in a letter from R. W. one from him for Mordaunt, with enclosed another for Mordaunt in cipher and unsigned. Has shewn R. W.'s letter to the King and acquainted him with the contents of the other letter. R. W. can tell Mordaunt why no bills of exchange have come to writer. Mordaunt's patent has passed the signet; hopes it will soon pass the great seal.]

## 44. Lord Mordaunt to the King.

[12 July 1659.—Captain <sup>6</sup> Titus will give a full account to the King. All looks fair; though the wary gentlemen <sup>7</sup> wish to defer the date, yet they will act if the King or the duke of York decide to come. Prays God to direct the King's decision.]

## 45. Sir George Booth to Lord Mordaunt.

[13 July 1659.—Recommends <sup>8</sup> the bearer <sup>9</sup> of this letter for his fidelity and honesty. Mordaunt can speak freely to him. In two postscripts alludes to reproofs received from Mordaunt and 'the lady in St. Martin's lane' <sup>10</sup> for not leaving his agent in London.]

<sup>1</sup> Printed in full and with a postscript not in the Mordaunt MS. in *C.S.P.*, iii. 524-5. Clarendon MSS., vol. lxii, fos. 63-4, in deciphered cipher, endorsed by H. Hyde. Noted but not printed in Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> 9 July 1659.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Aug. 1659.

<sup>4</sup> Andrew Newport.

<sup>5</sup> Printed in full in Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, p. 214. There it is described as '(Sir Edward Hyde) to John Mordaunt'. The letter is probably from Hyde to Mordaunt. 'R. W.' is almost certainly William Rumbold, who, in a letter of 24 June, and another of 1 July, to Hyde, refers to Mordaunt's journey to the King, and to the sending of bills of exchange to Hyde (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 248, 257).

<sup>6</sup> Printed in full in Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, p. 214.

<sup>7</sup> Brodrick in his letter to Hyde of 16 July alludes to the desire of Sir Richard Willis and the presbyterians to postpone the rising (*C.S.P.*, iii. 526-8).

<sup>8</sup> Printed in full in Hist. MSS. Comm., *10th Rep.*, 1887, App. vi, p. 214.

<sup>9</sup> Probably his brother (note 3 to no. 46).

<sup>10</sup> Unidentified.

## 46. Sir George Booth to Lord Mordaunt.

[15 July 1659.—Is<sup>1</sup> proceeding with the business concerning the lady in the country. His uncle<sup>2</sup> and brother,<sup>3</sup> the bearer of this letter, have been very useful. The latter can give a full account. Wishes them encouraged. Desires to be remembered to Lady Mordaunt.]

## 47. Lord Mordaunt to the King.

[16 July 1659.—Reports<sup>4</sup> regretfully the slow preparations for the rising. Mr. Popham is disturbed. Henry Cromwell's 'base compliance' a check to Sir George Booth, who fears enemies from Ireland.<sup>5</sup> Titus and writer warn the King, that if he will appoint a day, Mordaunt or another fit person, will meet him at Calais, and report the exact situation, before he crosses. If the gentlemen in the meantime fix a day, writer or some one sent by him, will come to Brussels to inform the King. Longs to see the war begun. *Postscript*: Is glad the supplies are transmitted and Mr. W(ickham) gone.<sup>6</sup>]

## 48. Lord Mordaunt to Mr. Br.

17 July 1659.—Sir.<sup>7</sup> That I meet your reconciliation half way, is, because I hope you may be serviceable to my master; and because it may appeare how little reason you had to wrong a person so perfectly unknown to you. Really I was no otherwise concerned, at what I heard of your severe censures of me, then as it strooke at his power, who thought mee both capable and honest, and was

<sup>1</sup> Printed in full in Hist. MSS. Comm., 10th Rep., 1887, App. vi, p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel John Booth (1610–78) of Woodford, uncle of Sir George Booth (Ormerod, *The history of the county palatine and city of Chester* (1819), i. lxii; 1644 governor of Warrington for the 'Commonwealth' (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1644, p. 254) but in 1648 imprisoned for 'loyalty' with royalism in the civil war (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1648–49, p. 215; 1660–61, p. 297); Sir George Booth in securing Chester (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, i. 748); examined for complicity in the rising but discharged (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 394).

<sup>3</sup> Colonel Nathaniel Booth, brother of Sir George Booth (Ormerod, *op. cit.*, iii. 440); Sept. 1659 imprisoned on a charge of treason for complicity in the rising (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, pp. 194, 237).

<sup>4</sup> Printed in full in Hist. MSS. Comm., 10th Rep., 1887, App. vi, p. 215, but with a mistake in postscript, 'Mr. W. Mordaunt gone', instead of 'Mr. W. gone'. Also printed in *C.S.P.*, iii. 516, under date 6 July. In the original, Clarendon MSS., vol. lxi, fos. 391–2, the date is clearly 6 July. The letter is in Rumbold's hand, in deciphered cipher, but a long postscript, not in the Mordaunt MS., is in Mordaunt's hand.

<sup>5</sup> On 30 July 1659 Colonel Ludlow, commander-in-chief in Ireland, was ordered to send to England 1000 foot and 500 horse (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 54). They landed before 20 Aug. (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 110, n. 1).

<sup>6</sup> Tobias Wickham, fellow of King's College, Cambridge (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 507); secretary to Lord Fauconberg (*ibid.*, iv. 250); was sent by Lord Bruce and Lord Belasyse with bills of exchange to the King (*ibid.*); on his return journey detained for examination as suspect by Vice-admiral Lawson (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 154).

<sup>7</sup> The letter is evidently to Mr. Brodrick, kinsman to Mordaunt through the St. John family (*C.S.P.*, iii. 483), but on bad terms with him (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 216; *C.S.P.*, iii. 483–4). Hyde tried to reconcile the two men (*C.S.P.*, iii. 533).

pleased out of his favour, grounded on that belief to employ mee. But that this may be a reconciliation usefull and pleasing to him and us, I shall repeat none of those things I have been told, but forget them; and remember you, that did not my good nature prompt me to peace and quiet, my lord chancellor's desires, and the relation I have to you would prevaile farre, yet I will not say I will be your friend, till I know you for a worthy person, and that your integrity answers your parts, which if I find, I shall have more tyes then one, most willingly to assure you that you shall command, Sir, Your very humble servant, Mordaunt.

#### 49. Sir George Booth to Lord Mordaunt.

18 July 1659.—Sir, I hope by this time my brother is with you, and has made some recompence for my not leaving a person at London to perfect the bargain with you. For my constancy you need not doubt it, nor your friend<sup>1</sup> you was with so lately. I hope the bargain on your part will be performed, that I do not both loose and be laughed at. With these lynes you will receive some propositions most necessary to the businesse. As for leaving my agent at London, the time was so short I could not find one to my minde, and then I thought it was better to have none. And for your friend you lately visited, whether there be any thing more concerning me, then the civility, ex post facto, yet I am still the same; and particularly Yours very humbly<sup>2</sup>

My respects to Mr. Clark<sup>3</sup> when you see him.

#### 50. From — [blank in MS.] to Lord Mordaunt.

9/19 July 1659.—Sir, Since<sup>4</sup> my last of the 12th instant, I have received two letters for you in this cipher, one of which is of the 3rd past, the other enclosed in it was without a date. I have communicated the same to those only you wished me. I shall be in great payne untill I heare of your safety, since I perceive so many there know of your having been in these parts; but I beleieve there is none here know of it, more then those you were willing should be acquainted with it.

Your pattent is now passed the great seale, and in my hands, and this is to congratulate your honour with my good wishes and prayers for the encrease of honour and happinesse to you and yours. The King hath often since your departure said, that he must attribute the good he shall perceive by the present enterprize he hath in hand, more to your faithfull industry, and soliscitous endeavours, then any persons in this world. I assure you his Majestie is as sensible of your singular merit, as he ought to be.

There is as yet no man come hither from the persons named in those letters

<sup>1</sup> The King (see letter no. 38, note 6).

<sup>2</sup> The letter is unsigned.

<sup>3</sup> Probably refers to Mr. Brodrick, who used the pseudonym 'J. or A. Clarke' in his correspondence with Hyde (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 225, 293).

<sup>4</sup> The letter is probably from Hyde to Mordaunt, from the reference to Mordaunt's patent for the viscounty having passed the great seal. But it is not among the Clarendon MSS.

to you either with 500 pounds or with 1000 pounds.<sup>1</sup> And you may be sure when any such comes, no notice shall be taken of the names of the persons that send those sums, neither hath the King heard from the Ld. — (*blank in MS.*) his nephew.<sup>2</sup>

As things here stand resolved on, as when you left this place, and his Majestie intends to-morrow evening to set [out] from hence.<sup>3</sup> And hopes to find an expresse from you at Callais with some directions. The duke of Gloucester remains here. The God of heaven preserve and protect you, and all that shall joyne with you in your pious endeavours. So prayes, Sir, Your most humble Servant.<sup>4</sup>

#### 51. Lord Mordaunt to — (*blank in MS.*).

19 July 1659.—Since<sup>5</sup> the premisses, the Lord Nor<sup>6</sup> hath been with mee and intimateth that the King be desired as from the councill<sup>7</sup> that if upon the judgment hee shall make of his own business, he finds delays will be of prejudice to it, that then he signify so much to the Knot, and withall that he desires them to communicate their whole intentions to the councill that the rising may not be disturbed by different motions; and his Majestie may say that they cannot take this ill from him because he gave them the choice, for there can be no third in his service, either orders must be given or received, the first they have refused, the last if they will oblige him they must do.<sup>8</sup>

#### 52. Lord Bruce to Lord Mordaunt.

20 July 1659.—I found no good opportunity till this to give you thanks for your letter. I conveyed your token to your friend by this bearer,<sup>9</sup> to whom I must give this testimony that he is discreet and faithfull. You may communicate safely by him to me any thing you please. I beseech you to beleieve that no person hath a higher value and esteem of you then Your very faithfull servant.<sup>10</sup>

#### 53. Sir Horatio Townshend to Lord Mordaunt.

25 July 1659.—Sir, You may be assured this is a person of worth and honour otherwise I<sup>11</sup> should not have made this use of him to you, to whom you may freely

<sup>1</sup> The allusion is to the bills of . . . brought over by Mr. Wickham (*supra*, no. 47).

<sup>2</sup> Lord Fauconberg, nephew to . . . who was sending the money to the King.

<sup>3</sup> The King had intended to set out for England on 11/21 July (*supra*, no. 40).

<sup>4</sup> The letter is unsigned.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the letter is to Hyde, but there is no copy of it among the Clarendon MSS.

<sup>6</sup> Lord Northampton, who had approved the date fixed for the rising, 1 Aug. (*C.S.P.*, iii. 524).

<sup>7</sup> The commissioners led by Mordaunt; the difficulty lay in the relations of the Sealed Knot to this body.

<sup>8</sup> The letter is unsigned.

<sup>9</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>10</sup> The letter is unsigned.

<sup>11</sup> Sir Horatio Townshend was to be responsible for the seizing of Lynn (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 209, 227). He did not rise in Aug., but in Sept. 1659 is reported as again offering to Mordaunt to do so, provided that the King can send over 5000 men (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, pp. 206-7).

communicate anything. I desired him to bring down those papers I returned into your hands, because upon treaty I finde they presse to know what I have to shew, so that I think it necessary before I goe any further then I have, to have them ready to satisfie such as I shall think fitt. If you please that I may receive them by this gentleman and what other or more of them you shall think necessary, I shall endeavour to serve you with as good a heart (though I feare not so considerably as you may expect) as any one whomsoever. The Catholick cause I finde is no friend either to your designe or my person here, which is all in hast from Your most faithfull humble servant <sup>1</sup>

#### 54. The lord chancellor to Lord Mordaunt.

[15/25 July 1659.—The King <sup>2</sup> has received Mordaunt's letter of the 7th <sup>3</sup> with its account of the sad change in the temper of his friends, but he hopes that the situation will enable Mordaunt to adhere to his former purpose. The King thinks it strange, if the plans for the surprise of Bristol and Gloucester hold fair, that his friends should hesitate for want of arms; he thinks Bristol could supply or secure them and that a siege is unlikely. The King was ready to set out the previous Sunday,<sup>4</sup> having left orders <sup>5</sup> that any money coming in should be spent on arms and ammunition, but no supplies have come, either through Lady Devonshire or Mr. Wickham. The King had very little money with him. Writer asks for direction where arms to be sent if secured. Do the gentlemen of Kent want 500 foot landed there before any action takes place elsewhere? If Sir Charles Wolseley can secure Stafford, he can depend on the King. Wishes he knew who writes those excellent letters into England. If the King has to postpone going to England, he will resume his former plan of going to the frontiers of France and Spain to try to gain advantages from the peace negotiations.<sup>6</sup> Is glad to hear of the good understanding between Mordaunt and Brodrick. It is necessary that Mr. Rumbold and Captain Titus communicate with Brodrick, as some will only take orders from them. It is a pity that Lord Northampton cannot persuade his brother Sir John Compton to be always with Mordaunt so that he would order the rest.]

<sup>1</sup> The letter is unsigned.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in *C.S.P.*, iii. 534–5, but with the omission of the following sentences:—‘I wish you could tell who writes those excellent letters into England, such use should be made of the advertizement that should not be prejudicial to the persons there. You know well the resolution the King had taken of going to the treaty at the frontiers, which he departed from, upon hopes of spending his time better, but if hee must againe depart for some tyme from those hopes, and that his presence in England is not yet thought necessary, it will be most necessary that he resumes his former resolutions and by making that posting journey, draw all the advantages he can from that meeting, and therefore it will be fitt that as soone as can be possible, he may know his friends resolution.’ Clarendon MSS., vol. lxii, fos. 98–9; 15/25 July 1659.

<sup>3</sup> This is a slip in the date; Mordaunt wrote two letters to the King on 6 July 1659, *supra*, no. 38, and Clarendon MSS., vol. lxi, fos. 391–2.

<sup>4</sup> The King's letter of instructions to Hyde is dated 9/19 July; printed in *C.S.P.*, iii. 530, under date 19 July.

<sup>5</sup> The negotiations for the peace of the Pyrenees opened on 3/13 Aug. 1659 (Chérueil, *Histoire de France sous le ministère de Mazarin* (1882), iii. 246).



## 55. Lord Mordaunt to Hartgill Baron.

26 July 1659.—Mr. Baron, Let me conjure you to looke on this account as if it were the last I was to make, in the which I give you my honour, passion and interest are excluded. Saturday last Sir R. W.<sup>1</sup> finding the councell confirmed their first resolution as to the day (which was with our consent told the Knot by Collonel Panton),<sup>2</sup> grew enraged and having gott together 4 or 5 of those were ever against the Kings trusts, declares himself thus : I were neither Christian nor Englishman, should I encourage or give way to action, the bloud and miseries considered will ensue. When he came to the reasons occasioned this pious preamble, the onely one of weight was the harvest, which that it might be one, he has these 3 months as we now heare, decried ye undertaking as totally presbyterian, And the persons carried it on, as rash, vaine, giddy people. This cautious speech wrought on those had lesse sence and words then himself, insomuch that Mr. W.....<sup>3</sup> fortified as he supposed with arguments from Sir R. W..... desired pressingly a conference with Collonel Legg ; 'twas graunted and by one present I was told Mr. W..... had not one word to say, but rested convinced in all poynts. But as to the harvest Sir W. C.<sup>4</sup> has discouraged his brother so much, that he deferred his going out of town uppon it. Collonel R.....<sup>5</sup> took off his brother and my Lord Bruce. These ill actions were not so highly to be censured, if at the same time most of these were not of our opinion, which that they are is confessed by Collonel Panton, but that they envy us, for the successe of so considerable a conjunction, and would, now the crabbednesse and hazzards of this union and association is over, drive us out of England and mount the horse we have broke to their hands.

This we would willingly yield to them too, but that we have too many unanswerable reasons to the contrary. The first, the surprizes of Bristol and Gloucester will fall to the ground, and these are the pillars of the engagement ; the second is, Major-general Browne and the Lord Will<sup>6</sup> and that party which truly is the most considerable<sup>7</sup> beleieve, if the whole is not already betrayed, it soon will. And these people have reason to suspect it, since they know how constantly the last King was served so, by soldiers of fortune, and how many towns they had on that account. For this Sir R: W: has so incenced them, that they will not heare him named, and this some think has made him so malitious. The 3rd is most people being tired with long expectation and preparation. And having now received orders to act, if deferred wee shall lose the most, since only by what the Knott

<sup>1</sup> This letter is important as giving definite evidence of the efforts made by Sir Richard Willis to postpone the rising from 1 Aug. 1659, the date fixed by Mordaunt and his fellow-commissioners (*supra*, no. 42).

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Thomas Panton (d. 1685), royalist ; youngest son of John Panton of Ashby-de-la Zouch, Northants ; imprisoned in 1655 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 79) ; engaged for Surrey for the rising of 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 336).

<sup>3</sup> 'Mr. Wright', pseudonym for William Rumbold.

<sup>4</sup> Sir William Compton persuaded his brother, the earl of Northampton, not to rise (*C.S.P.*, iii. 559).

<sup>5</sup> Colonel Russell.

<sup>6</sup> Lord Willoughby.

<sup>7</sup> The presbyterians.

give out Davy W.....<sup>1</sup> is gone out of England, severall have sold their horses, many buried their arms, and a generall dissatisfaction in all of their acquaintance.

Tis observable, they sent Collonel Panton with reasons for delay, he went away satisfied, engaged to act, yet at the same time when the first resolution was confirmed and told them, they give out, all is laid aside, and that the Ch:<sup>2</sup> had perswaded the King to stop his journey. This on my honor is true. Now as to those met in councill. When it was decreed by Sir R: W: all should be layd aside Collonel A.....<sup>3</sup> was one and not only all things were made publique to him but to Geo. P.....<sup>4</sup> so the duke of B.....<sup>5</sup> got it then, then Dr. D.....<sup>6</sup> and now these worthy patriots have made a play of the whole proceeding, and given us all names and parts. But the severest lights on honest Will: Legg. Thus you see how we miserably jest away kingdoms, and though we are stiled fooles, where the honesty or wisdom of these people lyes.

That 'tis playne they have for some tyme resolved to destroy this vast preparation, I can assure you that yet none of these gentlemen have looked towards providing either of money armes or horses, but this too much of sad, for some eares will heare it. I now give you notice of a particular makes some noyse in the town. Posting Sir R: W: ('twas done the day before we came, with great forme at the old Exchange) for a Traytor,<sup>7</sup> and such horrid things. Sir R: W: laid it at Harry Norwoods doore,<sup>8</sup> but Norwood has sent twice to him, and we heare nothing of it further, tis supposed not to have been H. Norwood but Sir Gil: Gerard,<sup>9</sup> by discourses he has thrown out some months past, and as I heare confirms. But this was told me only by Will: Rum:<sup>10</sup> To conclude, dayly and hourelly considerable people turn to the King, and the confusion is now so great, that had these gentlemen

<sup>1</sup> *David Walter*, royalist, of Godstowe House, Oxon; compounded on Oxford articles in 1646 (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, ii. 1446); 1658 engaged as colonel of horse for a rising (Mainwaring MSS., 24, John Rylands Library, Manchester); 5 Aug. 1659 sent for by council of state (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 75).

<sup>2</sup> The lord chancellor.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Colonel Richard Arundell.

<sup>4</sup> *Gregory Paulden*, royalist; probably brother of Thomas Paulden and son of William Paulden of Wakefield, royalist (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, iii. 2111); was imprisoned 1658-59 for 13 months (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 148; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1660-61, p. 93).

<sup>5</sup> The duke of Buckingham.

<sup>6</sup> *Dr. Brian Duppa* (1588-1662), son of Jeffrey Duppa, vicar of Lewisham; since 1641 Bishop of Salisbury; 1649-60 living in retirement in Richmond; Aug. 1659 had to give security and had his house searched for arms (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 76). *D.N.B.*

<sup>7</sup> The poster denouncing Willis as a traitor is printed (*The Nicholas papers*, iv (1920), 169-70) dated 3 June. The correct date is 3 July 1659 (*C.S.P.*, iii. 518).

<sup>8</sup> *Major Henry Norwood*, royalist, of Bishampton, Worcestershire; 1649 compounded (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, iii. 2075); imprisoned from Jan. 1654-55 to Jan. 1658-59 for collecting arms (Thurloe, *S.P.*, iii. 72 et seq.; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1656-57, p. 291; 1658-59, p. 260); employed in the correspondence between the King and Samuel Morland in 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 290, 359); attempted to rise in Shropshire, in Aug. (*ibid.*, 360).

<sup>9</sup> *Sir Gilbert Gerard*, royalist; difficult to identify; there were seven Colonel Gerards in the royalist army, and three had the name of Gilbert (Willis Bund, *The civil war in Worcestershire* (1905), p. 26); a Sir Gilbert Gerard of London was imprisoned and compounded for royalism in 1648 (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, ii. 1609). Another of the same name was M.P. for Middlesex in Nov. 1648, secluded 1648 after serving for the parliament in the two civil wars (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1648-49, pp. 75, 295); probably of the Gerard family of Bromley, Staffs.

<sup>10</sup> William Rumbold.

not done thus horribly, in reason all would have succeeded. I begin to feare foul play, but am so tender of mens honors I will not be positive.

Here is one Granger<sup>1</sup> an underservant, accuses many are with the King but I cannot yet make his charge so fully out as I wish. He discovered it first to Collonel Ch.....,<sup>2</sup> hee to your Collonel, he to me, I shall make it my business to looke speedily into it.

I pray God your brother<sup>3</sup> met the King before he came away, or the other expresse, or the letters; if by misfortune it should light so, I hope he will lye secure at Callais, but God forbid it should be so. I have yet much more to say of very good, as to ye citty and Kent, and of very bad, as to these gentlemen. However, be assured we strive still against mallice and envy, and if not against treachery, I doubt not but God will blesse us. Farewell.<sup>4</sup>

### 56. Proposals made to Lord Mordaunt by Colonel Richard Ingoldsby and sent to the King.

26 July 1659.—1. That the colonel<sup>5</sup> is resolved by some worthy action, to blot out as far as in him lyes, the sad unexcusable fault he committed.

2. That he resolves to venture life, fortune and all that is deare to him in the King's Majesties cause.

3. In particular he engages to draw to their obedience, the two troops that were of his regiment, one lying at Chichester, the other at Lewes, with a foot company in the same place.

4. For encouragement to which I agreed to give him 1000 pounds, his Majestie 100 pounds.

5. He desires that Richard Cromwell may be admitted, in case he comes in, to command all such forces as shall fall off from the army and such as he shall raise on his own account.

6. This was promised him, and all encouragements to confirm him firme to this agreement.

7. He marches this night with Captain Elsmore<sup>6</sup> towards his designe.

8. With the blessing of God, I set out to the same purpose with Major Bab.<sup>7</sup> towards Lewes.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly the Thomas Granger imprisoned for nine months before May 1658 (Thurloe, S.P., vii. 622).

<sup>2</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>3</sup> John Baron (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 269).

<sup>4</sup> Unsigned.

<sup>5</sup> Colonel Richard Ingoldsby (d. 1685), regicide; second son of Sir Richard Ingoldsby, Lenthborough, Bucks; colonel in the New Model army (Firth, *Regimental history*, i. 378–82); signed the death warrant of Charles I, but did not attend his trial (Clarendon, *Hist.* xvi. 224–5); deprived of his command 28 April 1659 (Firth, *op. cit.*, i. 154); offered his services to Mordaunt in June 1659 (*C.S.P.*, iii. 489). *D.N.B.*

<sup>6</sup> Captain George Elsmore, captain in Colonel Ingoldsby's regiment of horse (Firth, *op. cit.*, i. 150); deprived of his captaincy 30 April 1659 (*The Clarke papers*, iii (1899), 196); was taken in arms in the rising of 1659 and imprisoned (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, pp. 61, 172).

<sup>7</sup> Major Thomas Babington, major in Colonel Ingoldsby's regiment of horse (Firth, *op. cit.*, i. 153); he rose in Aug. 1659, but escaped capture (*The Clarke papers*, iv (1901), 37).

9. The Hampshire forces rendezvous at Petersfield, Surrey, goe some to Lewes, some to Arundell, or as they shall choose, all to Lewes.

God of his mercy bless this engagement which I was encouraged to proceed in — the earle <sup>1</sup> of — had for above a yeare treated with Ingoldsby.

#### 57. Sir William Waller to Lord Mordaunt.

27 July 1659.—Sir, I reckon it a great unhappinesse, that your first letter of the two I received from you came not so seasonably to my hands that I could have taken the opportunity to have mett with that noble gentleman. I have a great desire to kisse your hands, and to have the honour of his acquaintance; and wish that sometye this day (if it be possible) I might meet either with one or both of you; for I cannot positively resolve what way to take, till I have spoken with you. And I would gladly know in what capacity I shall be directed to act. If either you, or that worthy person will appoynt a place of meeting, I desire it may be as near the water side as may be, for I have neither coach, nor horse here, but came by water to this place.<sup>2</sup> I beseech you let me have the favour to heare speedily from you, for I shall not willingly make any long stay here. The good Lord prosper you; I am Your very humble Servant<sup>3</sup>

#### 58. The Queen of Bohemia to Lady Mordaunt.

*The Hague*, 28 Aug./7 Sept. 1659.<sup>4</sup>—Dear Mrs. Mordaunt, You need not fear to trouble me with your letters, they are always very welcome to me. We have now some more companie here, for my deere neece<sup>5</sup> is returned from B.....<sup>6</sup> the ill wether having chased her from thence. Shee looks much better than when she went from hence; els there is here little newes. Marigni<sup>7</sup> is gon to Frankfort to see the election of the emperor,<sup>8</sup> which I beleeve will not be so soon done. The French kings ambassadors<sup>9</sup> are here in great pompe, so are all the rest. Rupert

<sup>1</sup> Blank in MS. but refers to the earl of Northampton, who had suggested to Cromwell that Richard Cromwell should resign in favour of Charles II and that Ingoldsby should be the restoration (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 333).

<sup>2</sup> Sir William Waller was engaged to Mordaunt with the presbyterians in support of the rising (*C.S.P.*, iii. 389; *Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 236); he was arrested in Kent 5 Aug. 1659, and on refusing to take an engagement, sent to the Tower (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 135). *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> The letter is unsigned.

<sup>4</sup> This letter is incorrectly dated; it should be dated 28 Aug./7 Sept. 1657.

*Elizabeth, electress Palatine and queen of Bohemia* (1596–1662), daughter of James I; from April 1621 to May 1661 at the Hague. *D.N.B.*

<sup>5</sup> *Mary, princess royal of England and princess of Orange* (1631–60), eldest daughter of Charles I, 2 May 1641 married William II of Orange, who died 6 Nov. 1650. *D.N.B.*

<sup>6</sup> Breda, where a meeting between Charles II and the princess of Orange took place (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 355, 357).

<sup>7</sup> *The Abbé Jacques Carpentier de Marigny*, the opponent of Cardinal Mazarin (*D'Avenel, Lettres de Cardinal Mazarin* (1894), viii. 96, note 4).

<sup>8</sup> The Archduke Leopold, son of Ferdinand III and king of Hungary and Bohemia, was elected emperor on 18 July 1658 at Frankfort.

<sup>9</sup> The embassy of the President de Thou to the States-General (Chéruel, *Histoire de France sous le ministère de Mazarin* (1882), iii. 61).

is with the landgrave of — (*blank in MS.*)<sup>1</sup> a hunting, my Lord Craven<sup>2</sup> is with him, which is all I can say only that I am constantly Your most affectionate friend. E.

### 59. The Queen of Bohemia to Lady Mordaunt.

*The Hague, 20/30 Oct. 1659.*—As I was in no small paine to heare of yours and your Lord's safetie,<sup>3</sup> so I am extreame glad to heare from your self of it: I assure you that the miscariage of your worthie designe in England did not trouble me a little. I hope yet that God will restore the King, and punish all traytors, and that I may see you, where you wish to see me. I hope in the meane time now you are on this side the sea, you will resolve to see your friends here, where I assure you, you shall be very welcome. I pray you tell your worthy Lord the same. I wonder your ears do not tingle for you are both often talked of here, not at all to your disadvantage. My neece<sup>4</sup> is going to Breda, before she goe she carries her sonne<sup>5</sup> to Leiden there to follow his book, he is very much grown, my two nephews are at Bruxells,<sup>6</sup> but will meet their sister at Breda, my cozen the duke of —<sup>7</sup> is here. And your friend Sophie<sup>8</sup> will be here next weeke to stay for most part of this winter. I need not tell you where the King is, you know it as well as I. I pray God the two Kings do as it is hoped they will. And deliver the King from the traytor on this side the seas.<sup>9</sup> I dare say no more, but deare Madam, assure yourself you cannot have a more constant affectionate friend than I am to you. Assure your lord of the same. E.

### 60. Major Jammot<sup>10</sup> to Lady Mordaunt.

30 Aug./9 Sept. 1659.—Madame,<sup>11</sup> I would not have presumed to trouble your

<sup>1</sup> Prince Rupert of the Palatinate (1619–82); 2nd son of Elizabeth of Bohemia and Frederick V of Bohemia and Elector Palatine; 1642–46 in command of royal cavalry in England; 1648–53 at the head of a royalist fleet; 1653–54 in France; in Nov. 1657 at Frankfort (*The Nicholas papers*, iv (1920), 18); in 1657 was possibly with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. Charlotte of Hesse-Cassel had married Charles Louis, Elector Palatine, elder brother of Prince Rupert (Green, *Elizabeth of Bohemia* (1909 edn.), p. 378). *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> William Craven, 1st earl of Craven (1606–97), eldest son of Sir William Craven, lord mayor of London; 1627 Baron Craven; from 1632 was in the service of the queen of Bohemia, and after 1639 a permanent member of her court at the Hague (Green, *op. cit.*, pp. 375–6). *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> Lord Mordaunt escaped from England after the failure of the rising and reached Calais on 7/17 Sept. 1659 (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, iii. 691). Lady Mordaunt joined him by 18 Sept. (*infra*, no 71).

<sup>4</sup> The princess of Orange.

<sup>5</sup> William III of Orange (1650–1702).

<sup>6</sup> The duke of York and the duke of Gloucester returned to Brussels from Breda on 7/17 Oct. 1659 (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 238).

<sup>7</sup> Unidentified; blank in MS.

<sup>8</sup> Sophia, youngest daughter of Frederick and Elizabeth of the Palatinate (1630–1714); married in Oct. 1658 Prince Ernest Augustus of Brunswick-Lüneburg (Green, *Elizabeth of Bohemia* (1909 edn.), pp. 278, 395). *D.N.B.*

<sup>9</sup> Possibly an allusion to Sir William Lockhart, who was at Fuentarabia, whither Charles II had gone, for the negotiations for the Peace of the Pyrenees.

<sup>10</sup> Major Jammot, French officer in the royalist service, also styled Lieutenant-colonel Jammot (*The Nicholas papers*, iii (1897), p. 209). On 16/26 Sept. 1659 he was in Paris (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 374).

<sup>11</sup> This letter is wrongly dated. It is more probably 30 Oct./9 Nov. The arrival of Charles II at Saragoza was on 4/14 Oct. (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 400). Ormonde was at Toulouse with the King

ladyship had I not received my Lord Mordaunt's favour of the 28th instant, which hath obliged me to returne him through your ladyships hands, my most humble acknowledgment ; and to assure you that upon the last command from you, directed (if you please) to Mr. Church,<sup>1</sup> I shall be ready in three houres warning, to hasten to any place your ladyship shall order mee for my masters service.

My Lord of Ormond's letter of the 14th instant from Toulouse saith, that his Majestie was arrived at Saragos, where his lordship expected to find him, being then taking horse to goe to him. I compute by this that Mr. Baron<sup>2</sup> is ere this with his Majestie. Nic. Armorer went hence on Thursday morning last towards Bourdeaux.<sup>3</sup>

Madame I have nothing to add but that my Lord M.....<sup>4</sup> letters to her Majestie here, are seen by some, and some expressions in them found fault withall by some Cavalliers here, whereof I desired Nic: Armorer to give his lordship an account. When I have the honor to waite upon your ladyship, I shall inform you of many particulars, in the meane time pardon me if I presume to subscribe myself, what I really am Your ladyships most humble and most obedient servant Jamot.

#### 61. The lord chancellor to Lord Mordaunt.

[9/19 Sept. 1659.—Has<sup>5</sup> received an undated letter from Mordaunt, written after the defeat of his hopes. Is in great pain till he hears of Mordaunt's safety. Urges him to leave England.<sup>6</sup> Does not understand why no attempt was made at Lynn or Boston, when Kent failed. Had no news except from Mordaunt since the King left Brussels. Has heard nothing from Mr Rumbold.<sup>7</sup> Will try to discover what was done by Colonel Russell and Sir William Compton. The King tried to prevent any trust being put in Willis. Hopes Charles Lyttleton and Henry Norwood are alive. The King wishes Brodrick to refrain from communicating with Willis.<sup>8</sup> All that the writer knows of the King is that he was at St. Malo on 27 Sept./7 Oct. (Carte, *Ormonde*, iii. 686). This letter could not have been written before these dates.

<sup>1</sup> *Percy Church*, royalist ; was attached to the household of Henrietta Maria at the Palais Royal. He was a regular correspondent of Sir Edward Nicholas (*The Nicholas papers*, ii (1892), iii (1897), iv (1920)).

<sup>2</sup> Hartgill Baron was sent to the King from Calais by Lord Mordaunt at the beginning of October (Clarendon MSS., vol. lxxv, fos. 132-3).

<sup>3</sup> Nicholas Armorer arrived at Bordeaux on 24 Oct./3 Nov. (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 420).

<sup>4</sup> Lord Mordaunt.

<sup>5</sup> Printed with the omission of one sentence in *C.S.P.*, iii. 560-1, Clarendon MSS., vol. lxxv, fos. 218-19. Draft by Bulteale, endorsed by H. Hyde. The sentence omitted runs—'There is nothing in my letters to my cousin Brodrick that can be now of use, the principall is to signifie the King's pleasure to him that he should in no degree communicate with Sir Richard Willis.'

<sup>6</sup> Hyde was unaware that Mordaunt had reached Calais on 7/17 Sept. 1659 (Carte, *Ormonde*, iii. 691).

<sup>7</sup> William Rumbold's letter to Hyde, reporting the failure of the rising, is Clarendon MSS., vol. lxxiii, fo. 292, chiefly in deciphered cipher, dated only 'August'. It is printed in *C.S.P.*, iii. 546-7.

<sup>8</sup> In a letter of 1/11 Aug. 1659, Hyde had instructed Brodrick that Willis was no longer to be communicated with, unless he took part in the rising, or obeyed the King's summons to come to him (*C.S.P.*, iii. 542). Brodrick was committed to the Tower on 31 July (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 59).

on 8 Sept.<sup>1</sup> he had not then heard of the failure of the rising and planned to cross to South Wales. Expects he is now on the Franco-Spanish frontier with Don Luis de Haro. The duke of York had been ready with the help of Turenne<sup>2</sup> to sail with 600 or 700 men from Boulogne, when the news of the failure of the rising reached him. He is now in Brussels. The ministers here would have helped and the duke of Gloucester was ready with 2000 men had there been a port in England available. Hopes there will be a breach between the army and the parliament. A pity that Lambert does not perceive his interest to be under the King, rather than under Vane or Hesilrige.<sup>3</sup>

## 62. Sir Herbert Lunsford to Lord Mordaunt.

9/19 Sept. 1659.—Sir,<sup>4</sup> I am now taking horse for Amiens where Mareschall Turaine is at present, by the next I shall give you some accompt. If you passe to come this way, noble lieutenant colonell Howard<sup>5</sup> is quartered here, who desires to have the honour to waite on you. I beseech you to believe me to be, Sir, Your humble servant Her. Lunsford.

## 63. The lord chancellor to —

10/20 Sept. 1659.—Honest Mr. —<sup>6</sup> I have yours of the 8th and though by

<sup>1</sup> The King reached St. Malo on 19/29 Aug. (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 327).

<sup>2</sup> Marshal Turenne offered Henrietta Maria on 17/27 Aug. in Paris, assistance for Charles II (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 186). He met the duke of York near Amiens and offered him 1200 men and supplies and money to transport them from Boulogne to England (Carte, *Ormonde*, iii. 683-4). The duke was ready to sail when the news of the failure of the rising reached him (*ibid.*, iii. 685).

<sup>3</sup> *Sir Arthur Hesilrige* (d. 1661), parliamentarian; eldest son of Sir Thomas Hesilrige, bart., of Noseley Hall, Leics; M.P. for Leicestershire April and Nov. 1640; fought for the parliament in the civil war; named as one of the king's judges but refused to act; member of the council of state under the Commonwealth, but as a republican opposed the protectorate; M.P. for Leicester 1654, also in 1656, but excluded, and in 1659; May 1659 one of the council of state, supported the parliament against Lambert (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 115, 133, 143 et seq.); 1661 died a prisoner in the Tower. *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> *Sir Herbert Lunsford* (fl. 1640-65), royalist, was of Sussex origin, a colonel in the royalist forces in Flanders in 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 267). He was in England in Aug. 1659, in touch with Rumbold and Mordaunt (*ibid.*, iv. 353, 359); under Mordaunt's directions he was engaged in negotiations with Marshal Turenne for assistance in securing Dunkirk for Charles II (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 230; de Grimoard, *Collection des lettres et mémoires du maréchal de Turenne* (1782), i. 313). Marshal Turenne saw the duke of York at Amiens on 20/30 Aug. and offered him men and money for a royalist invasion of England (*ibid.*, i. 299). After the news of Booth's defeat had reached Turenne, he thought the attempt on England must be postponed (Carte, *Ormonde*, iii. 685). The plan for securing Dunkirk for Charles II continued to be pursued.

<sup>5</sup> *Thomas Howard* (1619-1706), 3rd earl of Berkshire, 2nd son of Thomas, earl of Berkshire, was engaged with Mordaunt in the rising of 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 331, 365). He was a cousin of Mordaunt and with Lunsford acted under Mordaunt's directions in the dealings with Turenne (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 230).

<sup>6</sup> The name of Hyde's correspondent is left blank in the MS., but is probably Captain Titus, who was at Calais with Hartgill Baron (pseudonym 'Mr. Jones') 4/14 Sept. 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 358).

the contents of it I should not imagine that this will find you at Calice, I chuse rather to venture my letter, then leave you in suspence that yours miscarried. I do infinitely long to hear that our little friend<sup>1</sup> were on this side the water, till when I cannot think him safe. Remember me to honest Mr. Jones,<sup>2</sup> and let him know I received his with our friend's letter, which I answered this day by the old conveyance, under cover to Mr. Wright,<sup>3</sup> which I doubt not will goe safe, for I have never had letter miscarried that way; what is become of the poor Ma——<sup>4</sup> of whom we should heare if he were at any ease, and yet methinks if he were a prisoner it should not be so long a secrett. We shall now see what the conquerors will do amongst themselves, and how they will share and divide the spoyles. I have not heard from the King since he heard the newes, but I hope in God it came time enough to prevent his Majestie's imbarcation; and then I cannot doubt but that he is by this time with Don Lewis, where I hope his sollicitations will be prevalent and that we shall shortly finde the effects of them. Both the dukes are yet here, but intend within a fortnight to goe to Breda, where the Pr:<sup>5</sup> will by that time be. And I believe they will spend most of their time together this winter, except some good accident fall out. I doe not see any reason why you should spend longer time at Calais then your affaires oblige you to doe. And therefore I will expect you here as soone as you can, and will promise you to bid you as welcome, and make as much of you as if wee had met at Whitehall, and we shall then speake of many things which are not so fitt to write. God keep you and honest Mr.<sup>6</sup> Your most affectionate servant, Edw. Hide.

#### 64. Sir Herbert Lunsford to Lord Mordaunt.

12/22 Sept. 1659.—Sir, I am newly arrived here being come from Marischall de Turaigne to whom I represented all things to what advantage I could. All was well resented and I find a perfect amitie, or rather extreame good intention and serious resolution in prosecuting what he pretends to; but the time is the only thing I startle at; two months is tedious to an impatient sufferer.<sup>7</sup> The hopes I have of seeing you suddenly makes me refer particulars to that opportunity and if it will not be sudden, favour me with your novelties, and you will oblige, Sir, Your humble servant, Her. Lunsford.

#### 65. Lord Mordaunt to the King.

16/26 Sept. 1659.—Sir,<sup>8</sup> Finding your Majestie removed and no commands left concerning mee upon my arrivall here,<sup>9</sup> I endeavoured to informe my self

<sup>1</sup> Lord Mordaunt.

<sup>2</sup> Hartgill Baron.

<sup>3</sup> William Rumbold.

<sup>4</sup> Probably Major-general Massey, of whose safety Captain Titus had no news on 4/14 Sept. (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 358). Massey was captured in Gloucestershire 31 July 1659, but escaped (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 88); he left London 6 Sept. (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 364); arrived at Rotterdam by 17 Sept. (*ibid.*, iv. 378).

<sup>5</sup> The princess of Orange.

<sup>6</sup> Hartgill Baron.

<sup>7</sup> After hearing of the defeat of Sir George Booth, Turenne advised the duke of York to postpone action till a more favourable situation developed (*Carte, Ormonde*, iii. 685).

<sup>8</sup> The letter is dated '26 Sept. 1660 rectius 59'; the latter is correct.

<sup>9</sup> 7 Sept. 1659 Calais.



where I might pay you my duty, and discharge some trusts were reposed in mee upon my leaving London. But Mr. Titus being wholly ignorant of your Majestie's resolutions, could give me no light in what I had reason to be very earnest after, next day, I dispatcht Mr. Baron to the duke of Yorke,<sup>1</sup> and to the chancellor, and since have writt to my Lord Jermin, but as yet know not which way to take to convey my self with the greatest diligence I can to your Majestie, whose hands it would have been requisite for me to have kist before you had reached B——<sup>2</sup> and could I possibly have done it, it would not have prejudiced your affaires.

Uncertaine whether the cipher I use be with your Majestie, I chuse to present my duty thus, and though I dare not trust the affaires of England to this conveyance, I believe the businesse of Dunkirk ought to be ventured because if not attempted suddenly, change of officers may give a finall stop to it. The person whose this enclosed is, offered his assistance in it to Mr. Armorer,<sup>3</sup> and Mr. Titus is gon to Brussells to the duke (having been acquainted with it whilst he was att Bollen,<sup>4</sup>) with the particulars of all, not knowing where to addresse to your Majestie.

Sir for what concerns England, your Majestie may please to believe, few take right measures of it, it being far from that desperate condition many imagin, and though treacheries have been multiplied, the foundation of that engagement is so sollid, that could I give an account of it to your Majestie I question not you would be of that opinion. Sir, I thirst till I receive the commands and directions how to addresse to you. &c.<sup>5</sup>

## 66. Lord Mordaunt to the King.

[Sept. 1659.—He<sup>6</sup> has received the chancellor's letter of 9/19 Sept. referring

<sup>1</sup> Mordaunt on 10 Sept. was despatching Hartgill Baron to the duke of York (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 367).

<sup>2</sup> Probably Brittany. In his letter to Mordaunt of 9/19 Sept. Hyde reported that the King went to Brittany (*ibid.*, iv. 363).

<sup>3</sup> Nicholas Armorer at Calais received through a Colonel Nugent, offers from General Schomberg, then in command of the French garrisons in Bergues, Furnes and Dixmude, to try to win over officers commanding the English garrison in Dunkirk to the service of Charles II (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 368, 394, 407). The garrison in Dunkirk, nominally under the command of Sir William Lockhart, was under the control of Colonels Alsop and Lillingston during Lockhart's absence at the negotiations for the Peace of the Pyrenees. Through lack of pay, the garrison was disaffected (Thurloe, *S.P.*, vii. 720-732).

<sup>4</sup> Boulogne.

<sup>5</sup> The letter is unsigned.

<sup>6</sup> Printed in *C.S.P.*, iii. 586-7, under date 22 Oct. 1659. The correct date is 12/22 Oct. 1659. The following sentences are omitted in the printed version: 'This, Sir, being in myne own defence, I hope your Majestie will pardon it, and look upon the truths my duty forces me to acquaint you with, as related to your Majestie to prevent the like sad misfortunes for the future, and not to exasperate you against these may serve you yett, if they finde no resentment from your Majestie as to what is past. Sir, your Majestie seeing how straightly I am tyed up by Mr. Rumball, will I question not oblige us, that these advertizements may remaine secrett, which I cannot doubt but your Majestie will thinke in your prudence requisite to your own businesse.' The sentence relating to Lord Willoughby on p. 586 and the last two sentences on p. 587, *C.S.P.*, iii, are omitted from the Mordaunt MS. Clarendon MSS., vol. lxx, fos. 190-2, partly deciphered cipher. The letter is unsigned.

to the King's letter to Mr. Russell and Sir William Compton, desiring them to communicate no more with Willis. Deals with complaints against himself by Lord Oxford; quotes his letter to the latter and defends himself from the charge of misrepresenting him to the King. Regrets Lord Oxford's friendship with the duke of Buckingham and Mr. Porter.<sup>1</sup> Writer will not concern himself with criticisms of himself and his friends which are undeserved. He is so strictly tied up by Mr. Rumbold that he asks that these matters be kept secret. He has received a full account from Colonel Whitley<sup>2</sup> of the engagement in Cheshire; it was regrettable that Sir George Booth refused to see Titus. He hopes the King will state his wishes to those in prison. If they compound, the sum raised would be considerable and the discontent in the army and the navy would be allayed. Alludes to the efforts of a certain colonel<sup>3</sup> mentioned in the enclosed letter. He and the officers in his regiment fulfilled their engagements to writer.]

#### 67. Hartgill Baron to Lord Mordaunt.

17/27 Sept. 1659.—Sir,<sup>4</sup> Miserably weatherbeaten and through many hazards, we got the last night hither, the particulars of our risques is too long here to insert, therefore I shall deferr that till I see you. The duke is in Holland. Tomorrow I intend to post to him, and will returne with all imaginable speed to you; I have no more, only to tell you I am Sir Your most humble Servant H. B.

My fellow traveller remembers him most kindly to you.

#### 68. The lord chancellor to Lord Mordaunt.

17/27 Sept. 1659.—My very good lord, I have only time to congratulate your safe arrivall on this side of the sea, which I doe with my whole heart, and acknowledge your favour of the 20th which your trusty friend<sup>5</sup> brought to me the last night at 10 of the clock being just then come to towne so that I had not time enough to be instructed in many particulars, and all this morning hath been spent upon the post, who is ready to depart. This afternoone we shall spend together, and then I suppose Mr. Jones,<sup>6</sup> and it may be both,<sup>7</sup> will goe to Breda, where the duke of York is at present, with his sister,<sup>8</sup> and from whence Mr. Jones will returne as

<sup>1</sup> *Major or Lieutenant-general George Porter*, royalist; officer of horse 1646; compounded for land in Kent and Sussex (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, ii. 1097).

<sup>2</sup> *Colonel Roger Whitley* (d. 1697), royalist; 2nd son of Thomas Whitley of Aston Hall, Flint; took part in the rising of 1648, in 1655 and 1656 supplied intelligence to Sir Edward Nicholas from Calais (*The Nicholas papers*, iii (1897), 166, 253); in June 1659 was with the King in Brussels but returned to England in July and took part in the rising in August in Cheshire (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 241, 280; *Carte, Ormonde papers*, ii. 198).

<sup>3</sup> The colonel alluded to is *Colonel Richard Ingoldsby*, who rose with Mordaunt in Aug. 1659, but escaped capture (*The Clarke papers*, iv. 37).

<sup>4</sup> The letter is from Brussels, where Hartgill Baron and Captain Titus had arrived with information for Hyde and the duke of York, from Lord Mordaunt at Calais (*C.S.P.*, iii. 570).

<sup>5</sup> Hartgill Baron, arrived at Brussels with Mordaunt's letter to Hyde of 10/20 Sept. 1659 (*C.S.P.*, iii. 566).

<sup>6</sup> Pseudonym for Hartgill Baron.

<sup>7</sup> Hartgill Baron and Captain Titus.

<sup>8</sup> The princess of Orange.

soone as possible, yet it may be this will be with you sooner, though I shall not enlarge till his returne.

I cannot doubt but that the King is before this time at the frontiers of Spayne, with Don Lewis where I doubt not but his reception will be just as it ought to be, and I can as little doubt, but that your lordship will waite on him there, where your informations and advice will be of good use, for there is no doubt but all our hopes in England are by all possible artes rendered there as desperate as may be, and there is no question, the failing of our friends in this season of advantage hath made them lesse valued then they ought to be. I have so singular an esteeme of your lordship that I will acknowledge it a want of virtue in me if it ever be lessened towards you or if I am ever other then, My very good lord, Your lordships most obedient <sup>1</sup>

### 69. Lord Jermyn to Lord Mordaunt.

17/27 Sept. 1659.—My lord, I have received yours of the 24 <sup>2</sup> with very much pleasure, first to heare of your safety, in which your friends have so much cause to be concerned, and next that you are pleased to afford me the opportunity of entring into your knowledge and acquaintance. I take it for a singular favour, and shall by all the wayes and means that shall occur to me, invite you to the contynuance of the same.

The King is gon towards Spayne. Whether he will stay at the frontiers, or go to Madrid I am not able to tell you, not having heard from his Majestie since he began his journey from Britany, where he was the last letters I received.

This is all the account I can give you. If you passe this way, in your journey <sup>3</sup> after him, I shall be most heartily glad of it, that I may have some better occasions to let you see, with how much respect, and truth, I am, My lord, Your lordships most humble, and most faithfull servant, Jermyn

### 70. Sir Herbert Lunsford to Lord Mordaunt.

17/27 Sept. 1659.—Sir, I received two letters from you, one of the 20 the other of the 24 instant the later came first to my hands, the 24 came to me yesterday. I have writ this post about your friend to Collonell Cooke,<sup>4</sup> and here send you an other. I am very cautelous what I doe in it, least my power is not sufficient to serve him, but your commands shall in all things be obeyed by mee, I writt you word by the last, that my business for Portugall <sup>5</sup> from hence, would come to nothing

<sup>1</sup> Unsigned.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Mordaunt's letter to Lord Jermyn of 12/24 Sept. was written from Calais; Jermyn received it in Paris.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Mordaunt intended to go to the King to report on the failure of the rising.

<sup>4</sup> 'Colonel' should be 'Captain'. *Captain Thomas Cooke* was sent by the Queen-Mother Henrietta Maria to communicate to the King Turenne's offers of help (Carte, *Ormonde*, iii. 683). The reference here is to Lunsford's negotiations with Turenne, which were under the direction of Mordaunt (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 230). The letters of Mordaunt to Lunsford of 10/20 and 12/24 Sept. have not been traced.

<sup>5</sup> Sir Herbert Lunsford's ostensible business in England in Aug. 1659 was to raise recruits for service in Portugal. Portugal, left out of the Peace of the Pyrenees, needed more troops for

this 2 monthes ; then certaine. I shall desire you will be pleased to let mee participate of your newes, wherein you will oblige Your humble servant Her. Lunsford.

### 71. Lord Mordaunt to the King.

18/28 Sept. 1659.—Sir,<sup>1</sup> The person who desires to own him self to none but your Majestie and my friend, has by the event of what wee now see, satisfied me both of his own judgment, and interest.<sup>2</sup> And I hope my most humble advertizements to your Majestie have found that acceptance, and consideration, which will be most for your interest ; for truth bears with it a greater force then eloquence, to persuade, if the person that is to judge, be blest with so great a proportion of reason, as God has given your Majestie.

The foreseeing this breach,<sup>3</sup> gave mee the confidence to assure your Majestie that the English affaires were every way in a better condition, then possibly your Majestie could imagin, both as to their divisions, and as to your friends resolutions upon that prospect. And those I had dealt with from the beginning, since your Majestie commanded my service, and obedience, have in all particulars been so punctuall, that scarce anything passed in the House, or councill, but I had immediate notice of it. But not knowing, whether your Majestie had my cipher or no, I could not communicate severall things were of importance to you. But Sir, since I was ascertained of this breach, I have constantly importuned the duke of Yorke, and the chancellor, to prepare all the assistance within the power of industry to compasse, and to have them ready against this occasion. And I hope by the chancellor's last, the dukes, and hee, have made a good progresse in it, if the rebellion of Antwerp<sup>4</sup> have not retarded their proceedings. I have likewise writ to the Mareschall de Turraigne, a civill letter, but, wanting your Majesties recommendations, I feare it may not produce such effects as I wish. And, Sir, that on my part nothing may be wanting, whereby I may serve you, I am to-morrow resolved to venture for England,<sup>5</sup> for to professe reverence and duty to you in a calme, is

carrying on the war with Spain. Assistance for her was encouraged by Turenne (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 359).

<sup>1</sup> This letter is wrongly dated. The original, Carte MSS., vol. ccxiii, fo. 439, is dated 17/27 Oct. 1659 ; it was written from Calais, on the eve of Mordaunt's return to England (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 414).

<sup>2</sup> Probably Colonel Herbert Morley, then being approached in the King's interest by Mordaunt's friend, John Evelyn (*infra*, no. 93, note 2).

<sup>3</sup> In the Carte MS., after the word 'breach' is inserted 'which was on the 23 of October'. The 'breach' was Lambert's expulsion of the parliament 13/23 Oct. 1659. In his letter to Hyde of 9/19 Oct. (*infra*, no. 92) Mordaunt had foretold a breach between the parties in England.

<sup>4</sup> The riots in Sept. 1659 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, pp. 222, 253).

<sup>5</sup> In the Carte MS. after the word 'England', the letter differs in wording and continues as follows : 'where my friends much importune me to appeare, believing this the happy opportunity ever light to restore your Majesty. Wee shall act upon that power your Majesty pleased to send me, till wee know your Majesties further pleasure. And, Sir, I most humbly beseech your Majesty to beleieve me one professes not reverence and duty to you in calme only, since my resignation to what God will determine of me is grounded on duty, religion and honour, and if I shipwrack here, I shall have the comfort of a secure haven hereafter.' The letter then continues

what your Majestie will never want those will doe. But my resignation to what God will determine of me, is grounded on duty, religion and honour; and if I shipwreck here, I shall have a secure haven hereafter. Sir, I have my wife here, who will convey all your Majesties commands to mee, and when ever your Majestie shall please to command me back, I shall omit no time to performe my duty, being Sir, resolved to live and dye Your Majesties most humble and obedient subject and servant, Mordaunt.

## 72. Lord Mordaunt to the duke of York.

*Undated.*—Sir,<sup>1</sup> I may say what ever I have or can doe, to his Majestie of service, or to your Highnesse, I am light in the ballance of duty, and may justly be accountable for omissions.

The underserved honors I receive from his Majestie and your Highnesse, are motives to engage me to any obedience, or hazzard, yet I find I shall extreemely fall from the character your Highness is pleased to give of mee, by being more knowne; when all I can justly pretend to, will be playne integrity.

I could wish I had those recommendable qualities might make mee as instrumentall to the restoration of your royall family, as any subject has been. But many desiring it as fervently as I doe, t'were vanity in mee to suppose, what is but my duty, should distinguish me, in your Highness opinion of me, from others. Yet, Sir, I must confesse, no encouragement can engage me so willingly, as the acceptance of my honest endeavours. And he that refuses to dye for a prince who recommends him, is a double traytor, to his reputation, and to his allegiance; both these, with your Highnesse permission, I will own are deare to me; and when ever I am so happy to be commanded upon the one, I shall most hardly loose the other.

This winter, will, I hope, convince the world, there yet remaynes in that oppressed country of England, more worthy people then strangers will believe, And though I would serve the King, in any invasion, though by the Turks, yet I had rather have it done by the English, though I suffered in it.

Sir, if I have taken too much liberty, in presuming to give my particular sence to your Highness, you will please to pardon me, that am engaged to say a little for some generous persons, who have shewed they value their reputation at as high a rate, as any other nation can. And if the King, or your Highnesse appeare there in person, I hope you both will say, I have modestly answered for them.

Sir, I am so fully assured of the firme resolution of some of the most considerable persons in England (both in action, and retired from it, upon detestation of the present cruelties and oppression) to hazzard all by rising to restore the King; that I cannot but humbly beg of your Highnesse, to keep in readiness your friends in France. And that the duke of Gloucester will do the same in Flanders. Being

as in the Mordaunt MS., but adds a postscript, 'N. Armorer will inform your Majestie of all particulars I have not time to write'. After the expulsion of the parliament, the Royalists in England urged Mordaunt to return (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 256).

<sup>1</sup> This letter was evidently written before 9 Oct. 1659, when Mordaunt decided to return to England instead of going to the King (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 405).

most confident, if eyther crown will own the Kings interest, before these people settle, the work will not be difficult.

I find so great a change in the English affaires, that I resolve to kiss the Kings hands with what haste I can possible, least the spanish slownesse, slipping the opportunity, loose the designe ; I shall make Paris in my way, where I intend if God blesse me, to receive her Majesties<sup>1</sup> commands, and where if your Highness leave any for me, I shall receive and obey them, as is the duty Sir, of Your Highness most humble and most obedient servant Mordaunt.

### 73. The duke of York to Lord Mordaunt.

19/29 Sept. 1659.—My lord, I received last night your letter by this bearer Mr. Jones,<sup>2</sup> and doe assure you, that I am very glad that you are safe on this side of the water. I assure you no body can have a greater sence then I of your merit, and the franckness wherewith you have served the King, for certainly, one cannot merit more, nor have better done, then you have. But I hope, that though things are now stoped, and that for the present I feare there is little to be done, yet I doubt not but by the help of God, and the assistance wee may so reasonably expect from the two Kings, to have one push for England before winter be over ; it depending on nothing but the will of the two great ministers that are now together<sup>3</sup> ; especially if they know that things in England are yet in a better condition then they can imagine ; and I hope his Majesties presence, who we think gone thither, will make them the sooner imbrace his interest.

I pray God it may have good effect, for it was no lesse trouble to us, then to you, his going away and taking that resolution, without leaving any direction, for I have not heard from him since his letter to me of the 28<sup>4</sup> of the last moneth ; and for my coming away from those parts where you are, and laying aside the thoughts of doing anything with the men I had ready, was, that I did not think it a thing considerable, as things then stood, for besides, that I did not know the readinesse you were in, in having such a body of horse and foote ready, the person by whose help I did all,<sup>5</sup> advised me not to venture, saying, that wee must precipitate nothing, for that he was fully persuaded, that we should have all the assistance we could expect from the two crowns.

I could say a great deale more on this subject, but that I think it not very needfull, especially to you, that knows what hath been my opinion in this businesse from the very beginning, when you were first on this side the seas. As for the business of Dunkirk, you will doe well to keep it still on foot, that in case the Spaniards will help us in it, we may have it in our power ; for this bearer sayes it is not to be done without it :

<sup>1</sup> The Queen-Mother Henrietta Maria.

<sup>2</sup> Hartgill Baron.

<sup>3</sup> Cardinal Mazarin and Don Luis de Haro, then negotiating the Peace of the Pyrenees.

<sup>4</sup> Evidently the letter from Charles II to his brother, shown by the duke of York to Marshal Turenne on 20/30 Aug. at Amiens (de Grimoard, *Collection de lettres et mémoires du maréchal de Turenne* (1782), i. 298).

<sup>5</sup> Marshal Turenne (Carte, *Ormonde*, iii. 685).

In fine, my opinion of the whole matter is, that our friends in England ought to have such encouragement, as to keep them from dispaire, by letting them know the hopes we have of a forraign help this winter, but not to encourage them to doe any thing, but keep themselves in a readinesse till then. And for your own particular, all that I can say is, that now you are safe, you ought to keep yourself so still. For your going after the King, I know not what to say to you, not knowing how long his stay may be in Spayne, these countreyes being most proper in my minde for him, as towards his businesse of England.

This bearer will informe you of many things, the particulars whereof are too long for a letter, so that I shall end, and that with assuring you, that nobody can have a greater esteem both of your person, and merits, then I, whom you shall ever finde to be Your most affectionate friend, James

#### 74. The lord chancellor to Lord Mordaunt.

[20/30 *Sept.* 1659.—Through <sup>1</sup> the haste made by 'honest Mr Jones',<sup>2</sup> believes this letter will reach Mordaunt before the one sent by writer on previous Saturday by way of Paris. The duke of York has forwarded to writer the letters Mordaunt sent. They confirm Hyde in the view that it would be advantageous for Mordaunt to go to the King, to reassure him as to the stability of his friends in England. If the two kings of France and Spain, would resolve to restore the King, it could be done at little cost. Lambert and other officers could be purchased easily. The King should have been at the Spanish frontier by 22 *Sept.* or 23, for he left Brittany on the 14th. If Mordaunt sees friends at the Pallace Royall <sup>3</sup> in his journey, he will find them full of censure at things done in England.]

#### 75. Captain Titus to Lord Mordaunt.

20/30 *Sept.*—My lord, At my coming to this place,<sup>4</sup> I learned that you had owned, and assumed your own name <sup>5</sup>; which I doe congratulate with your lordship with as hearty an affection, as I can allow any man to beare you, and wish it may be succeeded with as much happinesse, as I must doe my selfe the justice to tell you, I can witsesse you deserve.

I find my lord chancellour, and the secretary, and every body of opinion, that your presence will be very necessary to the King, in the place where he is to be. And therefore, you have every bodyes opinion concurring with your own, that your lordship would doe well to be as speedy as you can in repairing to his Majestie as soon as you have any certainty where to finde him. But that is a thing which eyther is not yet known here, or els they doe not think fit to impart it. The same

<sup>1</sup> Printed in full in *C.S.P.*, iii. 572. Clarendon MSS., vol. lxiv, fo. 338. Draft by Bulteale, endorsed by Hyde.

<sup>2</sup> Hartgill Baron.

<sup>3</sup> The court of the Queen-Mother Henrietta Maria in Paris.

<sup>4</sup> Brussels, where Captain Titus and Hartgill Baron arrived by 17 *Sept.* 1659 (*Carte, Ormonde papers*, ii. 214).

<sup>5</sup> The reference is to Mordaunt's assumption of the title of viscount conferred on him by the King on 10 July 1659.

persons are of opinion that I am likewise to steere the same course ; and therefore I think I shall not be long after your lordship, but had much rather have waited on you, in the journey, which I believe, will be long, and melancholly alone.

At our coming hither we found the duke gone for Breda, so as yet I have not imparted to him the businesse of Dunkirke. But, Mr. Jones<sup>1</sup> tells me, the duke, as soon as he knows particulars, will acquaint Caracena<sup>2</sup> with the affaire, and see whether any attempt will be permitted. Tomorrow I am for Breda, from whence I intend to give your lordship a further account.

All people are really very just to you here, in acknowledging the great services you have done the King ; and could curses send the whole Sealed Knot to the devill, he would not be long without his own.

There hath lately happened to me, one of the saddest misfortunes, that ever befell me in my life. One of the best, and sincerest friends I ever had, is lately dead at Rotterdam.<sup>3</sup> He was a most excellent pious person, without either ostentation, arrogance or austerity that made him any wayes uneasy for conversation.

In conclusion he was a man of as much justice, and as much kindness, as ever I found any man I ever had to deale with. Mr. Jones will be able to give your lordship an accompt of the nothing wee have to doe here, and for my part, I wish I were coming back with him, to tell your lordship that I am, and always will be, My lord, Your lordships most humble faithfull servant, Jennings.<sup>4</sup>

#### 76. Sir Edward Nicholas to Lord Mordaunt.

*Brussels*, 21 Sept./1 Oct. 1659.—My very good lord, I have with much contentment received by this faithfull gentleman, the honor of your lordships favour of the 20th of Sept. from Calais,<sup>5</sup> being much joyed to finde that your lordship is safe out of the reach of those bloudy persecutors, who so eagerly sought your life, for your eminent loyaltie.

His Majestie, and all that have been acquainted with your indefatigable industry, in advancing his Majesties interest in England, doe (I assure your lordship) acknowledge with great honor to your person, that no man hath, or could, use more prudence, courage, or industry to advance his Majesties service, then your lordship hath done, but it seems it is not yet God's will, that successe should attend your loyall endeavours have been used ; And wee must with patience waite his time for his Majestie's restoration, which I yet hope may not be far off.

Upon news of Sir George Boothes' defeat, the King, not hearing of any other forces that were on foot in England, in order to his service, went presently towards

<sup>1</sup> Hartgill Baron.

<sup>2</sup> Juan de Fromesta, Marquis of Caracena ; in 1655 governor of Milan, in 1656 appointed general of the Spanish forces in the Spanish Netherlands under the governor Don Juan of Austria (Chéruel, *Histoire de France sous le ministère de Mazarin*, iii (1882), 14).

<sup>3</sup> The allusion is probably to the death on 7 Aug. 1659 at Rotterdam of the reverend Thomas Cawton, the English minister there (*The Netherlands Review*, iv (1920), 72).

<sup>4</sup> 'John Jennings' was the pseudonym used by Titus (Cal. C.S.P., iv. 4).

<sup>5</sup> 10/20 Sept. 1659 ; this is the letter alluded to in that of Sir Edward Nicholas to the marquis of Ormonde, 17/27 Sept. (Cal. S.P. Dom., 1659-60, p. 206).



the frontiers of Spayne, where we hope he is before this time, safe arived, though we cannot so soone have notice of it. There went with his Majestie but few in company,<sup>1</sup> as this bearer will acquaint your lordship, and wee are full of hopes, that his Majestie negotiating there in his own person, will prevaile to procure a considerable assistance, in reasonable time, in order to his reestablishment, on his thrones. It being evidently the interest of monarchy, to suppress so horrid a rebellion, as hath been too long endured, and countenanced, by the monarchs of this age.

I am cleere of opinion, that your lordship cannot now doe your self more right, nor his Majestie better service, then by repaying with all diligence to his Majesties presence on the frontiers. I suppose you may finde the King at Fuentarabia, or thereabouts, and that at St. Sebastians, your lordship will have perfect knowledge where his Majestie is. There is at St. Sebastians, one Mr. Holder,<sup>2</sup> a very honest, and loyall subject and servant of his Majesties, who will give your lordship best directions, where you may have his Majestie to which end I have herein sent you a letter to him.

I am very confident that your lordship who is so particularly acquainted with the present state of his Majesties affaires, and with the affections and inclinations, of the people of England, will be not only most welcome to him, But that your prudent advice, will be of most singular use and advantage to the King, in his present negotiations on the frontiers. For your lordship will be able to satisfie both the French and Spanish ministers (who have been grossely misled by misinformations of Lockhart, and other the rebells instruments) how, even impossible it is for them that now rule in England, ever to come to any settled government, as well by reason of their many contrary factions, and extreme want of money, or power in any reasonable time to raise any considerable sums.

I have by this bearer sent you, your lordships patent<sup>3</sup> as you desired, and wish your lordship much increase of honour. I have likewise sent by him a cipher for your lordship whereof no man hath a copy. You will do me a singular favour, to let me sometimes heare from your lordship of such things as relate to his Majesties service; and wherein I may be capable to serve you, I pray honor with your commands, him whom your services have made eternally My very good lord Your lordships most humble and most faithfull servant Edw. Nicholas.

### 77. Lord Mordaunt to the duke of York.

*Calais*, 3 Oct. 1659.—Sir<sup>4</sup> I cannot feare my often addresses can speake any

<sup>1</sup> The marquis of Ormonde, the earl of Bristol, Daniel O'Neill and two or three servants (Clarendon, *Hist.*, xvi. 58).

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Holder, English merchant at St. Sebastian, employed in transmitting royalist correspondence through the French post office (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 148).

<sup>3</sup> The patent for the viscounty granted to Mordaunt on 10 July 1659 by the King.

<sup>4</sup> The letter is dated old style 3 Oct. It is the letter alluded to by Mordaunt in his letter of 4/14 Oct. to Hyde (*infra*, no. 82). In it Mordaunt explains his reasons for not going to the King.

thing, but my reverence to your Highnesse, and my duty to his Majestie whose faithfull servant I am, by all the tyes, a prince can oblige his subject. And I think I cannot mistake in my judgment, that leads me to apply to your Highnesse as to the person most concerned and intrusted in his Majestie's absence, to endeavour his and your own restoration, to a country is only miserable and unhappy because the King and your Highnesse are not there.

Sir, the accounts I present your Highnesse with, though plaine they are honest, and therefore I may hope your Highness may think them worthy your consideration. I confesse I know courts so little, I think integrity the surest principle; though the least followed. And so though I read of very few fortunate presidents that trod that unbeaten path, yet I hope nothing will force me out of it into the high way.

As sence of my duty engaged me willingly in affaires, so I will beg leave to quitt employment, when ever I find interest encroaches upon my honesty.

In my last I presumed to write your Highness my intentions of wayting on the King, which I had prosecuted but that so many encouragements came from England to me to returne, or at least to endeavour procuring supplyes, from hence and Flanders, that I could not with charity to those longing soules, nor duty to his Majestie be absent so long as that journey would have deteyned me. Sir, the divisions grow so high upon the account of government, that monarchy and popular jurisdiction divide the whole nation, and the councill of state, as well as the pretended parliament.

Sir, the account would prove tedious, should I give it to your Highnesse in all its particulars; but without entring into the most essentiall of them I cannot make those reall animosities appeare; Vane designes Lambert for the single person,<sup>1</sup> and Haselrig<sup>2</sup> is so fixt to Mr. Harrington's commonwealth, that he will lose all his ill purchased estate in defence of it. Berry,<sup>3</sup> Thurloe,<sup>4</sup> St. John<sup>5</sup> drive fiercely

<sup>1</sup> Vane's opposition to the proposed engagement against government by a single person, 3 Sept. 1659, gave rise to suspicion, but this suggestion is not supported by other evidence. Vane's temporary alliance with Lambert lacked clearly defined policy (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 225; Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, i. 490-1).

<sup>2</sup> Sir Arthur Hesilrige suspected Lambert of desiring to restore government by a single person. Hesilrige, a strong republican, is the author of the plan for a commonwealth in the *Oceana* (1656) by James Harrington, but not of the plan of rotation in it (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 225). Hesilrige had purchased considerably, lands confiscated from the see of Durham. *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> Major-general James Berry (fl. 1655), parliamentary soldier; 1655 major-general of Hereford, Shropshire and Wales (for an estimate of his work as major-general, see Berry and Lee, *A Cromwellian Major-General* (1938)); May 1659 he was a member of the council of state and was suspected of wishing to restore Richard Cromwell (*C.S.P.*, iii. 484). He supported the army against the parliament in Oct.-Dec. 1659, and with the restoration of the parliament was imprisoned. *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> John Thurloe was out of office in Oct. 1659. There is no evidence that he was aiming at restoring monarchy. On 24 Oct. 1659 Mordaunt reported to Hyde that Thurloe and Vane were reconciled (*infra*, no. 96). Vane was opposed to the restoration of monarchy.

<sup>5</sup> Oliver St. John (c. 1598-1673), chief justice; son of Oliver St. John of Cayshoe, Beds; M.P. for Totnes April 1640; Jan. 1641 solicitor-general; 1648 chief justice of common pleas; took no part in the trial of the King, but was a member of the council of state under the common-

for monarchy. Overton,<sup>1</sup> Fitch,<sup>2</sup> Fleetwood<sup>3</sup> against it. I presume to give your Highness my sence of Lambert's being employed against Sir George Booth,<sup>4</sup> which though it be here a digression, yet your Highnesse will pardon it, if I make the whole the playner to you.

Fleetwood pressed the employment upon Lambert, unwilling to leave him with the rest of the army at London, least working on the officers, he might play his game so, as to supplant him, though hee returned successfull, to this I believe he had some other intentions, which if the King and your Highnesse had landed, might have proved to your advantage. But this Sir I humbly commit to your Highnesse as a secret may prove very prejudiciall if it take the least light. Lambert was driven to this dilemma, either to goe, and leave Fleetwood to shuffle the cards, or to venture a total destruction by letting our party increase and forme. He chose the first, and by it shewed hee will push for all.

Fleetwood, in his absence, armes all the Anabaptists, and such Independents as he most confided in, gets the House to command Lambert to see Chirke Castle<sup>5</sup> demolished and to provide for the future quiet of these parts. Lambert resolves his returne. The House orders he shall leave his forces behind him; hee seemingly obeyes, comes up with very few, but most of the horse steale away by ten's and twenty's to London. The parliament take alarme at this. Lambert encourages

wealth and again in May 1659. He was suspected of wishing to restore Richard Cromwell, but Thurloe stated in 1660 that St. John had always been opposed to doing so (Thurloe, *S.P.*, vii. 915). *D.N.B.*

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Robert Overton (c. 1609—date and place of death unknown), soldier; son of John Overton of Easington, Yorks; served in the parliamentary army in the civil war and from July 1650 to Feb. 1653 in Scotland. From Jan. 1655 to 16 March 1658–59 he was imprisoned, untried, for suspected insubordination to the Protectorate, but was exonerated by the restored long parliament in 1659 and re-appointed governor of Hull. In the autumn of 1659 he maintained a neutral position between the army and the parliament. At the restoration he was imprisoned as dangerous as a Fifth-monarchist, and probably died in Jersey c. 1668 (Firth, *Regimental history*, ii. 546–61). *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Thomas Fitch, soldier; served in the parliamentary army in the civil war; 1651 to 1659 in command of the garrison at Inverness. 10 June 1659 he was appointed lieutenant of the Tower (*C.f.*, vii. 679); was opposed to the attempt of Lambert and Fleetwood after 13 Oct. 1659 to establish military rule (Firth, *Regimental history*, i. 343); 12 Dec. he was deprived of the command of the Tower for complicity in a design to seize it for the parliament (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 169).

<sup>3</sup> Colonel Charles Fleetwood (d. 1692), parliamentarian; 3rd son of Sir Miles Fleetwood of Aldwinkle, Northants; fought in the parliamentary armies in the first civil war; took no part in the trial of the King; 1652–55 commander-in-chief in Ireland; 1655 major-general for Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Oxon, Cambs, Hunts, Bucks, but acted by deputy; was opposed to the offer of the kingship to Cromwell, but sat in the Other House; 22 April 1659, with Desborough, forced Richard Cromwell to dissolve parliament; 9 June 1659 appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in England and Scotland, but without the power to name officers, this being done by the Speaker, on the recommendation of seven commissioners (*The Clarke papers*, iv (1901), 18); 24 Dec. 1659 he submitted to the parliament and lost his commands (Firth, *Regimental history*, i. 99, 344); died 1692 (*ibid.*, i. 101). *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> 4 Aug. 1659 Lambert was appointed to command the forces sent against the rising of Sir George Booth (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 72).

<sup>5</sup> Chirk Castle, Wales, was taken by Lambert on 24 Aug. 1659; he was ordered 27 Aug. to see that it was demolished (*ibid.*, 1659–60, pp. 150, 154).

the officers to call a councell; 'tis there determined to petition for a generall, and such officers as the army at present have not.<sup>1</sup> Fleetwood prevayles with the House to make an act against introducing such commanders in chief. Here it sticks, both parties arme, and forme; and a dissolution of the parliament is every day expected, or a breach upon that account, which most look on now as so unavoydable, that I had severall offers from very considerable persons, which may prove of use to the King's restoration.

I was likewise in particular prest to desire your Highnesse to use all imaginable diligence towards the getting together 3 or 4 thousand men, that in case these divisions come to blowes, your Highness might land in such places, as shall be prepared for your reception. I humbly desire your Highnesse resolution, whether in the King's absence you will land, if such an occasion offer it self. If not, t'will concerne me to preserve some of my friends for another opportunity.

Sir, I thought fit to acquaint my lord chancellor with this, that what is done, may be approved of, and no blame hereafter laid on mee. I hope the next letters will give me faire hopes of a good towne. If so, I shall wish the breach may not be long deferred, nor the King long absent from these parts. If your Highness please to recomend me to the Mareschall De Turraine, I will wait on him<sup>2</sup>; and the more willingly, because hee desires an account of England, from some person of quality.

I have sent Mr. Baron to his Majestie and upon his returne, shall know how it will please him to dispose of me, who am alwayes ready so long as my services may be usefull, to preserve them faithfully, both to his Majestie and your royall Highness, for whom I have a high reverence. And such a one, as will not render me unworthy, Sir, to be reckoned Your Highnesse most humble and most obedient servant, Mordaunt.

#### 78. Lord Mordaunt to the King.

[28 Sept./8 Oct. 1659.—The<sup>3</sup> duke of York<sup>4</sup> cannot or will not tell writer where he may meet the King. Believes it his duty to follow advice of the chancellor and secretary and come to the King. Since Lambert's return to London, the confusion increases; thinks the King could be restored if some assistance from either France or Spain could be given. Intends to take post the next day. Cannot

<sup>1</sup> The Derby petition drawn up in Sept. 1659 by Lambert's officers was presented to parliament on 22 Sept. It demanded that Fleetwood should be commander-in-chief with Lambert as second in command. Fleetwood tried to justify the officers to the parliament which disapproved of the petition (Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 577).

<sup>2</sup> Mordaunt made the same request to the King in his letter of 1/11 Oct. (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 230).

<sup>3</sup> Incorrectly dated in the Mordaunt MS. as 3 Oct. 1659. The correct date is 28 Sept./8 Oct. 1659. The letter was written from Calais. It is printed in full in Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 222-3. There are slight verbal differences in the printed text and no mention of the arrival at Calais of Charles Lyttelton with Lord Lichfield.

<sup>4</sup> The duke of York had no knowledge of the exact whereabouts of the King (de Grimoard, *Collection de lettres et mémoires du maréchal de Turenne* (1782), i. 304).

now write fully as is uncertain if the King has the cipher. Wrote to the King on his arrival from England. Mr. Armorer sent the letter by Mr. Church. Lord Lichfield<sup>1</sup> arrived yesterday safely with Mordaunt's cousin Lyttelton<sup>2</sup> and some others engaged with him. He wishes his duty presented to the King.]

### 79. Lord Mordaunt to the lord chancellor.

[23 Sept./3 Oct. 1659.—Fears<sup>3</sup> the chancellor is ignorant of the state of affairs in England. The discovery of the treachery of Sir Richard Willis<sup>4</sup> and of Rookwood<sup>5</sup> in the late rising has encouraged some who were previously engaged but apathetic. Believes the King cannot be long kept out if his affairs prudently managed, so is going the following day to him. Does not wish the King restored by foreign conquest if it can be effected by his subjects. Does not wish to advise any rash attempt but a small force now demonstrating might effect it. Is very anxious for the safety of his wife, due at Calais that day.]

### 80. Lady Mordaunt to the King.

*Calais*, 25 Sept./5 Oct. 1659.—Sir,<sup>6</sup> Being commanded by my lord to convey this to your Majestie I must at the same time present my most humble duty, and assure your Majestie of my willing submission to all the hazzards my deare husband exposes himself to in your Majesties service. For seeing him so cheerfully imbrace every occasion that presents its self with the least appearance of your Majesties interest, though accompanied in all difficulties imaginable, I were very unworthy, if I did not contribute my wishes, and prayers; and rejoice, that I had interest in a person, that in this degenerate age, retained so strict a duty for your Majestie. And that I may follow his example in it, is the desire, and endeavour of<sup>7</sup>

### 81. Lord Mordaunt to Sir Edward Nicholas.

*Calais*, 26 Sept./6 Oct. 1659.—Sir, I beseech you to believe, twas meerly sence

<sup>1</sup> Charles Stuart, earl of Lichfield, 6th duke of Lennox, 3rd duke of Richmond (1640–72), only son of George Stuart, 9th seigneur d'Aubigny; 1645 created earl of Lichfield; 1658 in France; Aug. 1659 his arrest ordered for complicity in the rising (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 98); Aug. 1660 succeeded his cousin in dukedoms. *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> Charles Lyttelton was engaged in the design to seize Shrewsbury; he rose but failed to effect it (*Carte, Ormonde papers*, ii. 227–8). His arrest was ordered on 5 Aug. (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 77), but he escaped and reached Calais 26 Sept./6 Oct. (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 389), not the following day as here stated.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in full in *Carte, Ormonde papers*, ii. 220–2, but under the date 8 Oct. instead of 23 Sept./3 Oct.

<sup>4</sup> On the treachery of Sir Richard Willis, see appendix.

<sup>5</sup> Robin Rookwood, a Catholic friar, offered his services as a spy to Thurloe in Feb. 1658–59 (*Thurloe, S.P.*, vii. 617). He supplied information to the secretary Scot before the rising of the movements of Mordaunt (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 302), and betrayed him in the actual rising (*Carte, Ormonde papers*, ii. 216).

<sup>6</sup> Lady Mordaunt escaped to Calais; she was to bring money with her for Mordaunt's journey to the King (*infra*, no. 86).

<sup>7</sup> Unsigned.

of my duty to the King made me so willing to beare my share in all the hazzards of the managements of his Majesties most difficult affaires in England, and nothing moved me so powerfully, to launch into such a sea of business, as the negligence, and indifference I observed in those, who were thought both active and diligent.

To this chief motive, I confesse, I was willing if possible to reparaire the misfortune, my father unadvisedly, and contrary to his inclinations was lead into.<sup>1</sup> Now Sir, notwithstanding the misfortunes of this hopefull engagement, I protest to you, let me be accused as the world pleases, I sleep without remorse of conscience, being very well satisfied I have strictly performed my duty ; and if anything disturbe my rest, it is a tender sence of the miseries of others, and the sufferings of so many worthy souls, who ventured their lives in so asserting their liberty, and the King's unquestioned right.

With full satisfaction I received the honor of yours <sup>2</sup> by my friend in which I find more attributed to me by your civility, then I either have or shall ever deserve ; Yet truly could I turne my wishes into realtyes, I should be more ambitious of those qualities then of any other things in this world, and had I never so large proportions of them, I assure you, they should be all imployed in his Majesties service, and to render me worthy of the good opinion of virtuous and worthy men in the first range of whom you must not take it for flattery if I place you nor believe I seek your friendship in order to any interest so much, as for those virtues you are master of in a corrupt age.

I have by the post and my friend, received two extream civill letters from the chancellor and in such obliging termes, as makes me forget my private losses, being assured of so considerable a supporter as I doubt not to finde him.

Now Sir, with the franknesse I beged leave to be permitted upon our first acquaintance, I cannot but own, t'is my opinion 188 <sup>3</sup> made too much haste from hence, only on the bare sight of a newsbooke, and before Sir George Booth's defeat was known. And notwithstanding all, had the D 292 <sup>4</sup> landed, t'is believed we might have had no ill yeare of it. For I had 320 good horse and a regiment of foot ready to have joyned with him, which I got together upon his sending Mr. — <sup>5</sup> to me. Really I had some little reason to complaine both of 188 and D 292, the 188 being assured, as far as honor and his business would permitt me, I would reparaire to him to performe my duty, in giving his Majesty a true and just

<sup>1</sup> *John Mordaunt, 1st earl of Peterborough* (d. 1643), parliamentarian ; was the eldest son of Henry Lord Mordaunt of Drayton, Northants, and Turvey, Beds ; 1628 created earl of Peterborough ; took the parliamentarian side in the civil war and held the commission of general of the ordnance under the earl of Essex. He died in June 1643 and was buried at Turvey, 24 June 1643. The entry of his burial in the parish register of Turvey Church was made 3 July 1662. The date of his death is given wrongly in the *D.N.B.* as 1642. Halstead, *Succinct genealogies* (1685), confirms 1643.

<sup>2</sup> *supra*, no. 76.

<sup>3</sup> 188 is probably Captain Titus ; after seeing in the news-books of the failure of the rising, he sent from Calais to stop the King from going to England (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 347).

<sup>4</sup> The duke of York had planned to sail from Boulogne for England with the aid of Turenne in men, money and shipping (Carte, *Ormonde*, iii. 685).

<sup>5</sup> Richard Nicolls, of the household of the duke of York, was sent by him to Mordaunt with commands leading the latter to expect a landing by the duke (*C.S.P.*, iii. 566).

account of the past and present ; the D: left no commands for me, neither, so that all my best friends still contynued in parties to their eminent danger and knew not the D: had laid aside his thoughts of landing.

This occasioned my sending Mr. Jones<sup>1</sup> to his Highness to know what commands the King had left with him for mee ; I likewise hinted the business of Dunkirk to him, to which I had answer—<sup>2</sup>

Sir, had I been of an other opinion then I was, the authority of yours would have induced mee to have undertaken the journey, you please to think I may prove serviceable to the King in. And indeed, I know he is so great a stranger to his own affaires in England, that I could not satisfie my self, had I not enquired how I might perform it. I shall with God's blessing begin it as soone as ever my wife comes to me, and brings me money, which had I by me, I would not deferre it a day. Pray be pleased to let the King know as much, and that his affaires have a very good face in England. And such a one as the least assistance imaginable will restore him.

I have since my being here received many pressing invitations from the most considerable men in England, to return and give life to a second attempt ; but till the King have the particulars I have excused it, yet keep up their hearts. Pray Sir be pleased to represent me so obliged to your eldest sonne,<sup>3</sup> for the trouble my patent gave him, that in respect of it, he shall command me what service he will accept.

With the assurance of my great value and esteem for you I rest, Sir, Your Mordaunt.

Oblige me to take particular notice to the King, that I desired Mr. Baron to informe you, of a match propos'd to 292<sup>4</sup> from a friend of Lambert's in case his Majesty approve of it. And as his Majestie commands I shall finde a way to advance it or els let it fall.

## 82. Lord Mordaunt to Sir Edward Hyde.

*Calais*, 4/14 Oct. 1659.—My lord,<sup>5</sup> I should be sorry I went not to wait on the King (because it seemd your opinion I might be serviceable to him there) had I not received such hopes of a breach from one of the house, that I could not in duty to his Majestie in honor to my self, nor in good nature to those poore soules that long to expose their lives in his service, remove from this place, unlesse it were towards them

I confess I am now more confident than ever, of an intire franck engagement ;

<sup>1</sup> Hartgill Baron.

<sup>2</sup> Unfinished sentence in MS.

<sup>3</sup> *John Nicholas* (1623-1704), eldest son of Sir Edward Nicholas ; July 1660 appointed clerk of the privy council (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1660-61, p. 139).

<sup>4</sup> In his letter of 8/18 Oct. to the King, Nicholas reported that Mr. Baron had informed him at Mordaunt's request, of the proposal for a marriage between the duke of York and the daughter of a general in England (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 247).

<sup>5</sup> Clarendon MSS., vol. lxxv, fos. 132-3. Endorsed by Hyde. Dated 4/14 Oct. Calais. In the Mordaunt MS. the date is incorrectly given as 7 Oct.

and since the great villains are discovered, who ruined your last designe, if now you imploy proper persons, with God's blessing you need not doubt the successe, having such considerable friends here<sup>1</sup> and with you.

Pray my Lord oblige mee to let mee know where the King is, and when hee intends his returne, for sure, whether upon the account of conquest, or otherwise, these parts must be the fittest for his residence. If he comes to L——<sup>2</sup> I will wait on him there, or where ever he stayes, till I have his commands, and directions, and then my Lord I will spend some dayes with you at Bruxelles, that I may discusse on severall concernes, your advise will be usefull to me in, which I hope your lordship will allow me upon all occasions, and I am sure I never wanted it more then now.

I have writ to the duke of Yorke<sup>3</sup> to know, if a breach happens, whether he can engage 3000 men to land in such places as shall be prepared for him, or what he thinks to doe on such emergencyes. I have likewise desired his Highness would please to consult your lordship upon it. Pray my lord be pleased to honour me with your councell and letters, for your lordship can no way more oblige, My lord Your most humble and obedient servant Mordaunt.

### 83. Lord Mordaunt to the duke of York.

27 Sept./7 Oct. 1659.—May<sup>4</sup> it please your royall Highness, Least my last miscarried in which I presumed to beg the knowledge of your Highness resolutions, I find it my duty to second it by another conveyance. Sir, every day looks so cloudie in England, that the wisest apprehend being caught in the storme; and least it may prove unexpected to your Highness, I have performed my duty, by giving your Highness, the chancellor and the King himself, severall advertizements of it, that being the persons most concerned, you might exercise your prudence and wisdomes in disposing all things to your greatest advantage. Sir, having done this, what remaines as to my part is only obedience. And in that I shall never be, with God's blessing faulty. Lambert is so put to it, by Sir Ar. H.<sup>5</sup> and Scot<sup>6</sup> that he is either lost, or must loose them. And the House will either be dissolved or purged unlesse by a common consent, new writts be issued out. Sir, I have deferred finishing this as long as I could, in great expectation of this weeks news. Therefore your Highness will pardon the abrupt conclusion of Your royall Highness most humble and most obedient servant Mordaunt.

<sup>1</sup> 'and in Flanders' added after 'here' in Clarendon MS.

<sup>2</sup> 'to Paris,' in Clarendon MS.

<sup>3</sup> 'I have in this enclosed which I beg of your lordship to send to the duke of York, writ to know his Highness pleasure in case a breach happens' in Clarendon MS. The 'breach' expected by Mordaunt occurred between the army and the parliament on 13 Oct. 1659.

<sup>4</sup> The letter was written while Mordaunt was still at Calais, but is not dated from there.

<sup>5</sup> Sir Arthur Hesilrige.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Scot (d. 1660), regicide; reputed son of a London brewer; 1645 M.P. for Aylesbury; supported the parliament in the civil war; 1649 a member of the council of state and secretary of state under the commonwealth; M.P. 1654, and for Aylesbury 1656, but excluded till Jan. 1658; May 1659 again member of the council of state and engaged on intelligence; Oct. 1660 tried and executed as a regicide. *D.N.B.*



## 84. Sir Edward Nicholas to Lord Mordaunt.

8/18 Oct. 1659.—My<sup>1</sup> very good lord, I have had the honor of your lordships most obliging favour of the seventh instant from Callais and likewise, a note from you in cipher inclosed in Mr. 801.53.<sup>2</sup> letter to me of the same date.

The King had not (I suppose) made so much hast<sup>3</sup> fra. upon the newes of the defeat of Sir Geo. Boothe's forces, but that he had advise, that the two great ministers, were within a short time to part from the frontiers; where his Majestie held it necessary for him to be before they separated.

Indeed I wish with all my heart, that your lordship were with the King to give him a true and full relation of the state of affaires in England which none or few now with his Majestie know, or believe to be in so good a condition, as they seem to be at present, for I am very confident that the personall relation of a person of your lordships quality, who hath been so active in the late risings, and who is so well acquainted with the particular resolutions, of many of his Majesties good subjects that will give both his Majestie and even the forraigne ministers where he is, great satisfaction therein.

As for the note your lordship sent me in cipher, I have now written to the King,<sup>4</sup> as you have desired, and as I formerly tould H. B.<sup>5</sup> when at his return from Breda, he acquainted me, that he had proposed to the D. a match, without naming to me who it was, that I wished he had forborne to propose that businesse to the 794,<sup>6</sup> till the King had been acquainted with it. So it's now my humble advice, that you would not speak or write a word of that businesse to any person whatsoever, untill you shall yourself have acquainted his Majestie with it and received his directions concerning it. After H. B. was gone hence, I began to think with myself, who this person might be, for whom the match was proposed, and having understood formerly that 824<sup>7</sup> had only one child, I imagined it might be 177.163,<sup>8</sup> for whom the 522.120.533.204.250.<sup>9</sup> which made me write what I did the last weeke to 801.96.8.113.159.<sup>10</sup> to be shewed you. But I assure your lordship, I have been very faithfull in my promise of secrecy, having not said a word of that businesse to H. C.<sup>11</sup> or any other whomsoever. All our letters from England this week say the army and parliament cannot agree long, and its beleevved that before Christmas the army will dissolve, or (at least) purge the parliament, and that the army and the men that now rule, have such different ends and designes as they will never

<sup>1</sup> Calendared in *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, pp. 247–8 (Flanders correspondence, *S.P.* 77, 32, part 3, fo. 321, endorsed '8/18 October 1659, copy of myne to Lo. Visc. Mordaunt').

<sup>2</sup> 'Mr. Baron's' in copy by Nicholas.

<sup>3</sup> 'from' after 'hast' in the copy by Nicholas. 'Ffra' is France.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Edward Nicholas to the King 8/18 Oct. 1659 (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 237).

<sup>5</sup> Hartgill Baron.

<sup>6</sup> The duke of York.

<sup>7</sup> 824 is Lambert. Mordaunt was mistaken in thinking Lambert had only one child; he had ten (Dawson, *Life and times of General John Lambert* (1938), p. 402).

<sup>8</sup> 'her' in the copy by Nicholas.

<sup>9</sup> 'for whom the proposition was made' in the copy by Nicholas.

<sup>10</sup> 'in cipher to Mr. Baron' in the copy by Nicholas.

<sup>11</sup> 'my lord chancellor' in the copy by Nicholas.

agree to settle a commonwealth in England.<sup>1</sup> I forbear to write now to Mr. Jones,<sup>2</sup> because in his last he writ to me that he intended to goe for England this weeke. The two dukes came hither<sup>3</sup> yesterday from Holland, and are this morning gone to the army, which is marched to Antwerp, the marquis of Caracena and prince of Condé<sup>4</sup> being with it and intend to imploy it to reduce that citty to better obedience, the populace there having lately plundered some of the chief magistrates houses and mutinously disobeyed the orders that have been sent from the supreme authority here. We shall suddainly see the issue of this businesse. But tis hoped that upon the approach of the army, the citty will submitt as they ought. I should be glad to heare from your lordship when you propose to repair to the King. We had no letters this week from Spayne or the frontiers so as we know not where his Majestie is, but we believe he is long before this at the frontiers. I shall now add no more but that I am with truth My very good lord, Your lordships most humble servant E. Nicholas.

### 85. Sir Edward Hyde to Lord Mordaunt.

1/11 Oct. 1659.—My lord,<sup>5</sup> I received your lordships favour of Michaelmas day by the last French post and I hope within few dayes after the date of it, you received mine by the way of Paris, in answer to what I received from you by Captain Titus and Mr. Jones,<sup>6</sup> and that you understood the reason of honest Mr. Jones his delaying his returne, who poore man gave himself no rest, nor stayed a minute longer then necessity obliged him to. I hope he was with you before you left Callais.

[The rest of the letter is printed in *C.S.P.*, iii. 578. Hyde is glad that Mordaunt is going to the King. The last letters from England are more cheerful. Many expect the parliament soon to be dissolved, but if Lambert becomes Protector, the King's cause little bettered. If the army were divided and the King's friends willing to act, the duke of York would be willing to cross with a thousand men. But if nothing is begun in England, a successful attempt could not be thus made from abroad.]

### 86. Lord Mordaunt to Sir Edward Hyde.

2/12 Oct. 1659.—My lord,<sup>7</sup> Last night came to my hands your most obliging letter of the 19 September, Bruxells, and a little after, that of the 30 by Mr. Jones.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following sentence, omitted from the Mordaunt MS., is added here in the copy by Nicholas: 'I assure your lordship there is noe man more heartily your servant then myself and I am of all others about his Majestie, most enrap to serve you as I desire that you shall ever find me and myne redy to aproove ourselves and as I am with all respect and truth my lord'.

<sup>2</sup> Hartgill Baron.

<sup>3</sup> Brussels.

<sup>4</sup> *Louis II de Bourbon, prince of Condé* (1621–86).

<sup>5</sup> Clarendon MSS., vol. lxx, fo. 115. Draft by Bulteale.

<sup>6</sup> Hartgill Baron.

<sup>7</sup> In the Clarendon MSS., vol. lxx, fos. 63–4, the original headed '7 Oct. Calais' is endorsed by Hyde '7 Octob. Ld. Mordaunt.' The correct date is 27 Sept./7 Oct. 1659. The portion of the letter beginning 'Your lordship has so many correspondents', and ending 'the King's restoration', is printed in *C.S.P.*, iii. 576.

<sup>8</sup> Hartgill Baron.

I received the other of the 27 by the post : each of them gave me great assurance of your lordships favour to me. But in the two last, where by advice you please to command me, I find my self the most obliged ; since you concern your self so particularly, that a necessary service may be performed, by the person you please to wish so well to.

My lord, I am ever so ready, in undertaking anything may serve the King, that on the receipt of that of the 27 I had left Callais, but that I expected both my wife and money ; without the last I could not stirr, without settling the first I should have carried only a body without a soule. I should not have been very capable of businesse.

My lord, I own my weaknesse to you, but if you take notice of that, pray take notice of my gratitude and kindness too. For indeed I owe as much to her as a man can owe to a wife. I expect her on Thursday, and with God's blessing, will set out Friday following to St. Sebastians where I hope to finde such directions, as I shall not make a fruitless journey of it ; however my lord, your commands carry me any whither, and since my own opinion is made authentique by your lordships, I shall not feare the King will take it ill at me, if your lordship please to give him notice of it before I arrive, which you may doe, if you please to write the next post, and own it as an act of duty in me and necessary to his Majesties service.

Your lordship has so many correspondents in England, that I dare not pretend to write you newes. But were I not confident nothing of concerne passes without your knowledge, I would write you some would not displease you. Pray my lord assure the marquis of Caracena, if it may prove serviceable to the Kings interest, that his Majesties friends in England, are as willing to appeare for him now, as two months agoe, and perhaps more resolved to run all risques, since they feare their destruction, if the King be not restored.

Truly my Lord, if such persons be employed, as be acceptable to ye men of interest, I doubt not but the worke may be happily carried on without depending upon an absolute conquest ; which had I not great assurances of, I would not perswade to attempt, with a force might receive a foyle. But I am encouraged by so many to returne and sett the engagement on foot againe, that I am most confident of their intentions, and sufficiencies. I desire you to hint this to his Majestie too, and to say in my behalf, that I am ready to venture over, after I have received his commands.

If the negotiation of Mr. Finch <sup>1</sup> with P <sup>2</sup> be known to your lordship, pray be pleased to cherish him in it ; for I foresee, t'will prove of sovereign use to the King's restoration. What commands you think me capable of performing, I beg I may finde at Paris in Mr. Churches hands. And your lordship may be sure, I

<sup>1</sup> *Francis Finch*, royalist, of Rushock, Gloucs, was engaged in negotiation with Sir John Pettus, to try to win the latter to secure Major-general Fleetwood to the King's cause (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 355, and *Carte, Ormonde papers*, ii. 228).

<sup>2</sup> *Sir John Pettus* (1613-90), royalist, of Cheston Hall, Suffolk, 1646 compounded for delinquency (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, ii. 1290) ; related by marriage to Fleetwood. In 1655 Pettus was appointed by Cromwell deputy-governor of the royal mines, but nevertheless he assisted Charles II with money. *D.N.B.*

will be diligent and faithfull in them. And for the little opinion some there have of the late transactions, I shall not be much concerned, since I am perswaded they will finde it hard amongst them to employ either abler or honester men. My lord, I give you the assurance of my most ready service and acknowledge my great obligations to your lordship which tye me to bee, my lord, Your lordships most humble and obedient servant, Mordaunt.

A councell of officers is lately set up againe which portends some remarkable change.

#### 87. Sir Herbert Lunsford to Lord Mordaunt.

4/14 Oct. 1659.—I received yours of the 11th from the hands of your friend about two of the clock yesterday ; I am very much oblig'd to you for your writings, they direct me in my correspondence, to Mareschall de Turaine, who commands me to it.<sup>1</sup> Certainly it would be requisit for some person of quality to complement him ; he is passionate in his affections to the businesse. The army is removed toward Peronne, into Verdone,<sup>2</sup> their divisions in England will ripen their crimes, to introduce a seasonable harvest. I beseech you pardon the importunities of, my lord, Your lordships obedient servant Her. Lunsford.

#### 88. John Barwick to the King.

13 Oct. 1659.—Sir,<sup>3</sup> The present condition of our affaires being now upon the verticall poynt, I shall reserve the account of that for the postscript that I be not forced to unsay in the end, what I say in the beginning of my letter.

I have formerly given you some account, how Collonell Cockeram's<sup>4</sup> regiment was quartered, which was one of those that came from Flanders, namely 3 companies at Gloucester, 3 at Bristoll, 3 at Exeter, and one at Oxford. The major<sup>5</sup> commands in chief at Exeter, and he is yours as much as promisses can make him, and the citty also. And of late hee hath had occasion to discourse with the officers of Bristol and assures me the like of that citty likewise. But all this must pre-suppose their continuance there which is not very certaine, seeing some of those Flemish forces are upon their march hither, upon the present breach of the parliament and army.

<sup>1</sup> See letter 62.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Vermand near Peronne.

<sup>3</sup> *John Barwick* (1612–64), royalist, dean of St. Paul's, born in Westmorland, educated at St. John's college, Cambridge, of which he became a fellow. He was ejected for royalism in 1643 and from London served the royalist cause, till his imprisonment from 1650 to 1652. He again acted as agent for Charles II in London and at the restoration was rewarded with the deanery of Durham, and in Oct. 1660 with that of St. Paul's. He died in 1662. *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> *Colonel Sir Bryce Cochrane*, parliamentarian, of Scotch origin ; in 1648 served in the Scotch forces in Ulster supporting Charles I, but was gained over to the parliamentary cause by Monck (*Firth, Regimental history*, ii. 685) ; in 1657 he was in command of a regiment of foot in Flanders (*ibid.*, ii. 686) ; 4 Aug. 1659 his regiment was ordered to return to England to suppress Booth's rebellion (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 74) ; he was cashiered in Jan. 1659–60 (*ibid.*, p. 321), but in April 1660 obtained a pass to go to Ireland (*ibid.*, p. 574).

<sup>5</sup> *Major Brocklehurst*, parliamentarian soldier ; commander of the garrison in Exeter (*Firth, Regimental history*, ii. 688).

My friend Mr. Jefferys<sup>1</sup> is still vigilant over Lambert, and ready to doe all good offices, but cannot hope to make any considerable impressions upon him, whilst things are in this confused and uncertaine posture; for the prize is like to fall into his lap, and then if he please, he may secure himself for ever, if he be not bewitched, with an itch of having all, as others have been before him.

Besides my friend, there is another that conceives he hath a good interest in him, and will put himself to the hazzard of making tryall of him in this case, it is Collonell Henry Cromwell,<sup>2</sup> grandchild to Sir Oliver, and the person he adviseth with in it, is Sir Thomas Payton, who hath desired me to signifie thus much to your Majestie; and desires you to returne with as much speed as may be, what he may promise in particular on your behalf, by way of honor or advancement.

As for Monck, his brother<sup>3</sup> is lately returned from him, and finds him more inclinable to the parliament then the army but yet more inclinable to a free, then either. Hee brought an expresse to the parliament and was ordered to give it to Haselrig, and this hath much encouraged that party, and perhaps occasioned their ruine.

We have been just upon the brink of confusion these two or 3 dayes and are yet so little removed from it, as I<sup>4</sup> can hardly give any particular account of our present condition. The parliament carried it very high against the army, both in their act that no money should be leaved but by their consent. And by their declaration, that the soldiers, though as freemen of England they might petition, yet must still submit unto and acquiesce in their resolutions. And yesterday they came to that height, as to vote nine of the most eminent officers out of command, viz: Lambert, Desborrow, Cobbet,<sup>5</sup> Berry, Packer,<sup>6</sup> Kelsey,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Mr. Jeffryes' was the pseudonym used by Sir John Grenville (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 161).

<sup>2</sup> *Colonel Henry Cromwell*, royalist; younger son of Sir Oliver Cromwell, K.B., of Hinchinbrooke, Hunts (Abbott, *The Writings and speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, i. (1937), 20; *The Nicholas papers*, iii (1897), 64); fought for Charles I and in 1645 was imprisoned; he compounded for his estate of Upwood, Hunts, in 1647 (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, ii. 978-9).

<sup>3</sup> *Nicholas Monck* (1610-61), royalist; provost of Eton and bishop of Hereford, 3rd son of Sir Thomas Monck of Potheridge, Devon. Dec. 1653 presented by Sir John Grenville to the living of Kilkhampton, Cornwall (Dew, *A history of the parish and church of Kilkhampton* (1926, p. 51); sent to General Monck in Scotland Aug. 1659 with overtures from the King (Baker, *Chronicle*, pp. 574, 579); 1660 Provost of Eton; 1661 bishop of Hereford; Dec. 1661 died. D.N.B.

<sup>4</sup> Barwick's account of the events in London of 11-13 Oct. 1659 should be compared with those given in Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 579, Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 136-40, and Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 245-8.

<sup>5</sup> *Lieutenant-colonel Ralph Cobbett*, parliamentarian soldier; lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of foot from 1645; 1651-54 in Scotland and governor of Dundee (Firth, *Regimental history*, ii. 471-2); signed the Derby petition and was cashiered by parliament 12 Oct. 1659 (*C.J.*, vii. 796); Jan. 1660 ordered to leave London; imprisoned at the restoration, date of death is unknown (Firth, *Regimental history*, ii. 476-7).

<sup>6</sup> *Colonel William Packer* (fl. 1644-60), parliamentarian soldier; 1652 major of Cromwell's regiment of horse (Firth, *Regimental history*, i. 9); 1656 deputy major-general in Berks, Bucks, Oxon (*ibid.*, i. 71); 1658 dismissed by Cromwell for opposition to his government (*ibid.*, i. 73). May 1659 restored to his commands but 12 Oct. 1659 cashiered by parliament (*C.J.*, vii. 796); 1661 imprisoned; date of death unknown. D.N.B.

<sup>7</sup> *Major-general Thomas Kelsey* (d. 1680), parliamentarian soldier; born in London; 1646 lieutenant-colonel in Colonel Ingoldsby's regiment (Firth, *Regimental history*, i. 374), supported

Barrow,<sup>1</sup> Ashfield<sup>2</sup> and Creed.<sup>3</sup> And to give the chief government of the army, under themselves unto Fleetwood, Monck, Haselrig, Morley, Ludlow,<sup>4</sup> Overton and Watson,<sup>5</sup> whereof three to be a quorum.

But the string is like to break with skewing too high; for the army hereabouts inclines to Lambert and his party. Last night some of the parliament continued in the house all night to keep possession with a strong guard of horse and foot. But all this day, they and their guard are besieged by the other party, the Speaker was turned back as he was going to the house, and the captain of the lifeguard<sup>6</sup> dismounted in the head of his command and Major Creed put and received into his place. The city militia were sent to by the parliament, but will not stir.

the army against the parliament; a deputy governor of Oxford in 1648 (*ibid.*, i. 376); 1651 governor of Dover Castle (*ibid.*, i. 381); M.P. for Sandwich, 1654, for Dover 1656 and 1659; major-general for Kent and Surrey 1655; in 1659 supported Fleetwood and Lambert and was cashiered by parliament 12 Oct. 1659 (*C.J.*, vii. 796); Jan. 1660 deprived of his governorship of Dover (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 307); at the restoration fled abroad, but was ultimately allowed to return to England. The date of his death is unknown. *D.N.B.*

<sup>1</sup> *Lieutenant-colonel Robert Barrow*, parliamentary soldier; 1650 colonel of a regiment of foot in Ireland but in Nov. 1656 resigned his commission through disapproval of the government of Henry Cromwell (Firth, *Regimental history*, ii. 638); in 1659 he supported Lambert (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 128-9) and was cashiered by parliament 12 Oct. 1659 (*C.J.*, vii. 796), and the vote was confirmed Jan. 1659-60 (Firth, *op. cit.*, ii. 639).

<sup>2</sup> *Lieutenant-colonel Richard Ashfield*, parliamentary soldier; fought in regiment of foot in the civil war (Firth, *op. cit.*, ii. 431-3); 1648-59 in Scotland; after 1650 colonel of foot; in 1659 he assisted Lambert in the suppression of Booth's rising and in Sept. 1659 supported the Derby petition, and was cashiered by parliament 12 Oct. 1659 (*C.J.*, vii. 796); Jan. 1659-60 he was ordered to leave London (Firth, *op. cit.*, ii. 440). The exact date of his death is uncertain, but probably in 1677 (*ibid.*).

<sup>3</sup> *Major Richard Creed*, parliamentary soldier; eldest son of John Creed of Oundle; Northants; 1647 captain in a regiment of horse (Firth, *op. cit.*, i. 283); Aug. 1659 major of Lambert's regiment of horse (*ibid.*, i. 260); supported the Derby petition and was cashiered 12 Oct. 1659 (*C.J.*, vii. 796); supported Lambert in his ejection of the parliament 13 Oct. 1659 (Firth, *op. cit.*, i. 261); April 1660 he was captured with Lambert in his attempted rising (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 260).

<sup>4</sup> *Lieutenant-general Edmund Ludlow* (1617-92), regicide; son of Sir Henry Ludlow of Maiden Bradley, Wilts (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, i. xv); for his military career in the civil war see his *Memoirs* and the introduction to vol. i by Sir C. Firth; he was one of the king's judges and signed the death warrant (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, i. 214-20); 1650 lieutenant-general of horse in Ireland (Firth, *Regimental history*, ii. 602); deprived of his commission and subjected to surveillance for opposition to the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, i. 435; ii. 13); 1659 M.P. for Hindon; May 1659 member of the council of state and in July commander-in-chief in Ireland (Firth, *Regimental history*, i. 333), Oct. 1659 he returned to England and tried to mediate between the army and the parliament (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 145); he returned to Ireland 30 Dec. 1659, but Jan. 1659-60 he was removed from his command (*ibid.*, ii. 197); M.P. for Hindon in the Convention, but in Aug. 1660 he escaped to France. He died in 1692, probably at Vevay Switzerland. *D.N.B.*

<sup>5</sup> *Captain Henry Watson*, parliamentary soldier; 1656-Feb. 1659-60 governor of Orkney, he supported the army against the restoration of the parliament in 1659 (Firth, *Regimental history*, ii. 516).

<sup>6</sup> *Major Arthur Evelyn*, parliamentary soldier; captain of horse in 1642; in Aug. 1659 was appointed to command the guard of the parliament (*C.J.*, vii. 749); 13 Oct. 1659 dismissed by Lambert (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 139); Feb. 1660 Monck gave him the command of a regiment of foot which he held till Aug. 1660 (Firth, *op. cit.*, i. 197-8).

And I heare the lieutenant of the Tower<sup>1</sup> is also for the officers, and that two troops of Okeyes<sup>2</sup> regiment are come in, so that of all the forces hereabouts, the parliament has not full two regiments, and perhaps not this neither by this time. What interest they may have in Ludlow, Monck or Overton, time will discover, the last was vext to go along with Sir Henry Vane, and he is with the officers, and Fleetwood as they say is come in also. We are yet at a gaze, what government we shall have, or what wee may prognostick from this resolution. Your Majesties most obedient and faithfull servant 783.199<sup>3</sup>.318.462.

### 89. Hartgill Baron to Lord Mordaunt.

4/14 Oct. 1659.—My lord,<sup>4</sup> I arrived here Monday at five a clock in the afternoon, and that evening I waited on the Queene and Princesse, from whom I found many kinde expressions to your lordship. And you may be confident my little rhetoric was not wanting to make your faithfull services and endeavours have so good a face as they deserve; and truly amongst those I converse with here, I finde nothing but a great esteem of you.

Mr. Jermin goes to morrow into Flanders to the dukes, I was with him last night, and did all the service I could in expressing the great zeale and kindnesse your lordship had for them, of which I think they are enough satisfied. I am forced to stay here until to morrow morning 6 of the clock, because as yett there is no certainty where the King is, the post this afternoon will assure it. This I was advised to by all here, otherwise I might be in the darke, and loose my paynes; some say the King is at St. Sebastians, others at Fontrabeau,<sup>5</sup> others say he is returning, and some say he is gone to Mardrid, if so, I shall have a sad journey, but this dayes letters will assure us; I intend God willing to be Monday night at Burdeaux, which is 160 leagues from this place, and from thence I shall make all imaginable speed.

For newes here, a letter is come from Father Talbott to my Lord Clankarty,<sup>6</sup> that says that he is going away to the King with an assurance that both ministers

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Thomas Fitch was appointed lieutenant of the Tower on 10 June 1659 (Firth, *op. cit.*, i. 342).

<sup>2</sup> Colonel John Okey (c. 1662), regicide; born in London, colonel of a regiment of dragoons (Firth, *op. cit.*, i. 291–5), one of the King's judges and signed the death warrant (*ibid.*); 1651 he served in Scotland but in Nov. 1654 he was cashiered for opposition to the Protectorate (Firth, *op. cit.*, i. 299); 1659 M.P. for Beds; in May 1659 he was restored to his command and on 12 Oct. 1659 wished to defend the parliament against Lambert (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 137–8); he opposed the restoration and was deprived of his command by Monck (Firth, *op. cit.*, i. 301); he escaped abroad at the restoration, but was seized in Holland and sent back to England. He was executed 18 April 1662 (*ibid.*, i. 304).

<sup>3</sup> 199 was John Barwick's cipher number (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 257).

<sup>4</sup> From Paris, on his way to Fuentarabia, with Mordaunt's letter to the King. In Paris he saw the Queen-mother Henrietta Maria and her daughter the Princess Henrietta.

<sup>5</sup> Charles II did not arrive at Fuentarabia till 19 Oct. 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 418).

<sup>6</sup> Donogh MacCarthy, 1st earl of Clancarty (1594–1665), son of Cormac Oge MacCarthy, was general in Munster for Charles I and Charles II till his defeat in 1652. His estates were forfeited in 1641. 27 Nov. 1658 created earl of Clancarty. He married Eleanor, sister of James, 1st duke of Ormonde. He died in 1665. *D.N.B.*

have undertaken his establishment ; This he sayes<sup>1</sup> he hath under their hands, and withall, that they sent for Lockhart, and tould him that their masters were resolved, to make a peace in all Christendome ; and that they were in honour bound to restore the King of England, which they would heartily undertake, advising him to send away to his unconstant and unsettled masters to let them know, if they did not finde out a way to admit the King on termes, they would joyntly force them to it. But if they should treat with him and agree to his establishment, what ever the King of England should grant to them, both Kings would engage to see it made good.

The letter of Talbots is credited here, for none think him such a foole to write to such a person, and such circumstances, if not true, besides all conclude, hee dares not goe to the King nor see his face, but on so good an errand, they say he has a good interest with Don Lewis, and has been active, to recover his reputation.<sup>2</sup>

The Queene and all others believe nothing els but that both crowns will heartily joyne in the good work. I pray God bless their endeavours, and once send us home againe.

I have no more now to say ; what I heare by this dayes letters Ile give you an account of in the next, only I must tell your lordship that you have not in the world, a more faithfull and more zealous servant, and if I can serve your lordship but so considerably as I desire, I shall conclude my self the happiest man alive ; and I beseech your lordship believe mee to be, Your lordships most faithfull servant, H. Baron.

#### 90. Hartgill Baron to Lady Mordaunt.

4/14 Oct. 1659.—Good Madame, Though many expressions either with my tongue or pen be equally hatefull to me, yet should I say nothing of those great favours I have received from your ladyship, I might justly undergoe and deserve the title of an ungratefull person ; when I consider how little I can returne, and how great obligations lye upon me, I may truly be ashamed, And though I cannot any way deserve those kindnesses I have found, yet I shall alwayes acknowledge them, and where there is so much virtue and goodness, that may finde acceptance. As I shall study nothing more then to doe your ladyship all the service lyes in my power ; soe I shall be just and faithfull, and I hope, that may supply other defects. If my endeavours have successe equall to my desires, I shall conclude myself not a little happy, for I am ambitious of nothing so much as to advance your deserving lords interest (and my most honorable friend) And whatever I shall faile in, I beseech your ladyship to impute it wholly to my want of power ; To conclude, I shall think myself happy in nothing more in the world then to be contynued in

<sup>1</sup> Father Peter Talbot's account was inaccurate. Spain desired peace with England as well as with France, but no clause relating to England was inserted in the peace of the Pyrenees (Thurloe, *S.P.*, vii. 754). Both Don Luis de Haro and Cardinal Mazarin thought the arrival of Charles II at Fuentarabia was ill-advised (D'Avenel, *Lettres de Cardinal Mazarin* (1894), ix. 343, 356).

<sup>2</sup> Peter Talbot had been dismissed by the Society of Jesus for insubordination in July 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 261).



your ladyships good opinion, soe I am very confident (where there is so much piety) your prayers will conduce much to the happiness hereafter of him who is eternally, Dear Madam, Your ladyships most humble and faithfull servant, H. Baron.

### 91. Sir Edward Hyde to Lord Mordaunt.

8/18 Oct. 1659.—My lord, I doe conclude from your lordships favour of the 7.<sup>1</sup> that this may probably finde you at Paris, or overtake you in your journey if you are gone from thence. And I doe with all my heart congratulate with your lordship for my ladyes safe arrivall, of which I cannot doubt, And with my lady for her being possest of so just and kinde a husband, which I am so far from thinking a reproach, that I have alwayes believed the greatest piety towards God, and the most exact obedience towards princes, to flow from hearts which are possessed with the strongest and most faithfull affections to their other relations; the being good children and good husbands being the best ingredients in the composition of good subjects and good Christians.

I am heartily glad you make so much hast to the King, who will I am sure be glad to see you, and to understand from you how far the spirits of his friends are from being broken, whereas when I heard last he thought they had all been destroyed. I shall not need to bespeak your care in representing the interest, and the care must be had of religion. I have heard your letter to Titus. Massy is here, and very much your servant, he hath no opinion of 175,<sup>2</sup> and in truth I think with reason, though he send over excuses.

I know not how to cause the business to be pursued with 207<sup>3</sup> having no correspondence with Frank Finch, whom I know to be a very honest and discreet person. Who 497<sup>4</sup> is I know not. I have no correspondent upon whose judgment I so much depend, as upon 199,<sup>5</sup> from whom I hope to heare constantly. I wish your lordship all happinesse and am your lordships most obedient servant, Edw. Hide.

### 92. Lord Mordaunt to Sir Edward Hyde.

[Calais, 9/19 Oct. 1659.—In<sup>6</sup> his last to Hyde explained why he stayed himself and sent Mr. Baron to the King. A breach in England expected daily. Is troubled

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, no. 86, 27 Sept./7 Oct. 1659.

<sup>2</sup> 175 stands for Alexander Popham in the deciphered letter of Mordaunt to Hyde of 10/20 Sept. 1659 (Clarendon MSS., vol. lxiv, fos. 236–7). He was engaged with Massey for the design on Gloucester but did not rise.

<sup>3</sup> 207 stands for Fleetwood in the letter of Mordaunt to the King of 1 Sept. 1659 (Clarendon MSS., vol. lxiv, fo. 132). The allusion is to the negotiations of Frank Finch with Sir John Pettus and Fleetwood (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 228, and *supra*, no. 86).

<sup>4</sup> 497 is possibly Lambert. In the letter of Mordaunt to the King of 1 Sept. the following numbers stand for Lambert: 621, 71, 947, 42.

<sup>5</sup> 199 is Barwick (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 204).

<sup>6</sup> Printed in *C.S.P.*, iii. 584–5, with the exception of the concluding sentence 'The honour of your good opinion and kindnesse, my lord, powerfully engages me to be my lord, your lordships most humble and obedient servant Mordaunt' Clarendon MSS., vol. lxv, fos. 179–80, largely in deciphered cipher.

at the King's absence, lest the war be begun in his absence. Asks for a decision as to policy from the duke of York. The Sealed Knot still holds to Willis. Hears of a design for securing Dunkirk, set on foot by a Major Bolton,<sup>1</sup> and encouraged by Paris. Hopes it will not clash with Colonel Nugent's<sup>2</sup> scheme. Is urged to return to England; must go in case the breach happens, unless forbidden by the King or Hyde.]

### 93. Lord Mordaunt to the King.

9/19 Oct. 1659.—Sir, I<sup>3</sup> shall not apprehend when your Majestie shall have considered the reasons have made me change my resolution since yesterday, that you will looke on it as levity, or believe any motive but that of my dutie, could prevaile with me to stay: But having so great (though unmerited) a share in the honour of your trust, I could not answer my remove, either to your Majestie or those in England, who are pleased to believe me so far honest and just, as to put their lives and fortunes in my hands, when this day, from many of them, I am extreemly pressed to returne.

Sir, you may conclude your affaires have a good face there, when these considerable persons are willing to engage, not knowing more then what their own interests may reach to, and the generall propention of the whole nation. Upon this I find my stay now more necessary then I thought my journey, since a totall change of government is dayly expected, or at least such a breach, as will engage both parties in bloud.

A person of fortune and interest, upon the prospect of the present disturbed transactions, and one<sup>4</sup> whose abilities have rendered him courted by all parties, and familiar with most of the intrigues since this unhappy warr, finding it now lay in his power to serve your Majestie considerably, made applications to a neare friend of mine, which he desired might with all possible diligence be transmitted

<sup>1</sup> *Major Francis Bolton*, parliamentary soldier; major of a regiment of dragoons in Ireland, drowned at sea in Aug. 1659 on his way with troops to England to suppress Booth's rising (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 113). There is no evidence that he engaged in intrigues concerning Dunkirk.

<sup>2</sup> *Colonel Richard Nugent, 2nd earl of Westmeath* (d. 1684), royalist; only son of Christopher Nugent, Lord Delvin, and grandson of Richard Nugent, 1st earl of Westmeath, who died 1642; supported the royalist cause in the civil war in Ireland till 1652, then raised regiments for the Spanish service and went to Flanders. He was an intermediary with General Schomberg to secure Dunkirk by French aid for Charles II (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 407; *Carte, Ormonde papers*, ii. 273). *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> Compare with this letter that from Lord Mordaunt to the King, dated Calais, 11 Oct. 1659, printed in *Carte, Ormonde papers*, ii. 223–30. The two letters are very similar and in certain passages identical. But the text in the printed version is fuller than in the Mordaunt MS., which omits all but the last four lines of page 227, and the greater part of pages 229 and 230. There are also numerous differences in wording in the earlier part of the letter. The two letters must be regarded as two versions relating to the same events.

<sup>4</sup> The person alluded to is probably Colonel Herbert Morley, then in communication with John Evelyn, who was a friend of the Mordaunt family. Morley was in close touch with Hesilrige and on 12 Oct. was appointed by parliament one of the seven commissioners for the army. He appears to have agreed through Evelyn to approach the King, but failed to do so. In Dec. 1659 he secured Portsmouth and with Hesilrige effected the restoration of the parliament (John Evelyn, *Diary*, edited Wheatley (1879), iii. 177–83).

to you. But Sir, I must not omit the chiefest part of the character (which I have from such hands, as I dare say your Majestie will credit) which concludes him to be, as morall and religious, as wise. That he excells for parts, I take for granted, having it from those who know him perfectly.

This person assures himself, he has such influence upon those now push for power, and upon those who steere at counsell, that not only nothing of consequence can be kept secret from him, but that he has interest sufficient to precipitate, or retard, the breach, or at least to make the ballance encline to either side your Majestie shall judge most to your advantage. He states the interest thus. And truly by that I am confirmed, he has a perfect knowledge of our present affaires. As to what relates to the parliament and army, he says Hasilrig now appears a zealous champion, for liberty, parliaments, and a republique; he is seconded by Neville,<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Harringtons<sup>2</sup> caball; only dissents about rotation, Fleetwood seemes to lean that way, and these carry the votes. Lambert is the single person Sir Henry Vane designes, and an alliance between them unites their interests. These are seconded by all the desperate sectaries, by a considerable part of the army, and by the whole body of the Catholiques, of which I was assured before I heard this account. He sayes Mr. H: H: <sup>3</sup> heads these last, and had agreed with Lambert (in case Sir George Booth had succeeded) to have joyned with him, for that they were to have tolleration allowed them. He says they gave this reason, if Lambert succeeds, the Church of England must of necessity fall, and then nothing but schismes remayning, their tolleration will gaine upon the multitude, which if so, by taking off those in their prisons, who are for quality, courage, and fortune, the most considerable of your Majesties friends, they will easily free themselves from future oppressions of any parties disputing their settlement. This was driven so far that the tolleration was moved in the House.

This day, hee says, the councill of officers designe to come to a resolution, and his opinion is the House will be immediately broken up, or so purged that Lambert, and Vane, may be satisfied. The House party the assertors of liberty, believe their interest equall to Lambert's, and he believes they will dispute it frankly; if it comes to a warr, he sayes the presbyterian will joyn with the parliament, and submitt all to a republic, being dissatisfied with the treachery of the cavaliers in Sir George Boothe's businesse. If these prevaile the prisoners will be freed, and no bloud shed; if Lambert have successe they all dye.

Hee proposes,<sup>4</sup> that your Majestie upon your interest with both crowns immedi-

<sup>1</sup> *Henry Neville* (1620-94), republican; 2nd son of Sir Henry Neville of Billingbear, Berks; 1651 member of the council of state; banished from London by Oliver Cromwell for his republicanism; 1659 M.P. for Reading and supported the opposition to the Other House; May 1659 member of the council of state; Nov. 1659 to Feb. 1659-60 member of the 'Rota' club and a friend of James Harrington; he supported the parliament against the army in Nov.-Dec. 1659 (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, II. 173). Died 1694. *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> *James Harrington* (1611-77), political theorist. *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> *Henry Howard*, later 6th duke of Norfolk (1628-84), 2nd son of Henry Howard 2nd earl of Arundel; from 1655 settled at Albury, Surrey; 1677 succeeded his brother Thomas as duke of Norfolk. *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> *Colonel Morley* in 1659 was M.P. for Sussex and held lands there. John Evelyn wished him to assist if the King landed in that county.

ately get into a readiness 3 or 4 thousand men ; that upon the first breach you land ; his opinion then is, the moderate party of the schismatiques, all the presbyterians, and most of the House will joyn with you. Sir H: Howard sent for this person thrice whilst he was with my friend ; and from this person your Majestie will have a perfect account of what happens, betwixt this time, and that when he kisses your Majesties hands, which he desires to doe, if your Majestie come so neare that he may doe it, and run no risque of discovery, which he is cautious of. There is but one person<sup>1</sup> he will trust to bring him to kisse your Majesties hands, and for his name, he will not permit it to be known till he come to your Majestie.

This Sir, is what I am desired to impart to your Majestie from this unknown person, which I am most assured, may prove highly to your service. I shall now, Sir, present your Majestie with severall advertizements your great prudence will turn to the best uses.

The officer commands now in Exeter, resolves to render it up to your Majestie if either your Majestie or the duke of York land any forces in Deavonshire, or Cornwall, both which counties are very proper for a winter warr, he commands a regiment of those were at Dunkirk. And the other regiment which lyes quartered in Gloucester and neare, will be disposed of as is thought most for your interest.

Charles Lytleton landed here yesterday, and desires me to present his duty to your Majestie and to let your Majestie know in obedience to your commands Mr. Finch succeeded so well in his treaty with Sir John Pettus, that he gave him order to assure your Majestie Fleetwood now looks on your Majesties restoration, as so clearly his interest as well as dutie, that he had declared himself publicly had your Majestie or the duke of York landed ; And although that engagement failed, he is still ready to come in to your Majestie whensoever you attempt in person.

If your Majestie have any particular commands for him, Charles Lyttleton has directions to send to him, and will return his answer by me, My Lord N.....<sup>2</sup> not rising, lost I fear his interest in that countrey, which makes me desire your Majestie to encourage Sir John Norwich<sup>3</sup> and Mr. Henry Yelverton,<sup>4</sup> in your service. Either of these can secure Northampton, and your letter will engage them. I know not what friendship they have together, but their interests are differing ; the last with the ministers, the first with the gentry. Sir John Norwich is a souldier, and I think is most popular.

Should I give your Majestie all the accounts of those make hansom proffers, this letter would grow to too great a bulke, and therefore I will not trouble your

<sup>1</sup> Probably John Evelyn.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Northampton.

<sup>3</sup> *Sir John Norwich, bart.* (d. 1661), parliamentarian ; son of Sir Simon Norwich of Brampton, Northants, colonel of regiment of horse in 1644 (Firth, *Regimental history*, i. xvi), 1645 governor of Rockingham Castle ; 1642-59 member of parliamentary committees for Northamptonshire (*Acts and Ord.*) ; 1656 M.P. for Northants ; Jan. 1659-60 colonel of militia in Northants, and welcomed General Monck to Northants on his way to London (Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 595).

<sup>4</sup> *Sir Henry Yelverton, bart.* (d. 1670), parliamentarian ; son of Sir Christopher Yelverton of Easton Maudit, Northants ; approached by Barwick in the king's interest (*Carte, Ormonde papers*, ii. 201, 227) ; March 1660 member of the militia committee for Northants (*Acts and Ord.*, ii. 1438).

Majestie with particulars of Norfolk which is excellently disposed. And indeed the west was never so hearty, though Sir H: M:<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Browne refusd to joyne with Popham. And this leads me most humbly to desire your Majestie seriously to take . . .

Sir, finding this account grows to a bulk too long to trouble your Majestie withall, I shall only inform your Majestie that the speaker will if your Majestie land, either leave the House, or if you command declare for you. But most of these people I feare intend to serve themselves as much as your Majestie by their proffers, and that they are rather effects of feare then sence of duty.

Thurloe is now high in Lamberts intrigue, and one will prejudice your affaires more then any man I know. Overton who is now in Hull, and the lieutenant of the Tower are for the parliament, and the partyes forme dayly. I should give your Majestie a relation of the miscarriages of the late betrayed risings, but that I knew your Majestie believes this bearer soe honest, he will not dare to tell you any thing, he has not order for, nor that is not true.

What relates to Mr. R:<sup>2</sup> my Lord B:<sup>3</sup> Sir W:<sup>4</sup> and Ch: C:<sup>5</sup> and their ruining the easterne, and northern engagements, he has had from severall hands. For my Lord Byrons failing Mr. Cooper will give the account. And I feare the lords further north, have not done their dutie. Upon the whole, if your Majestie please to pardon me if I give my opinion, it is this, if your Majestie upon the informations I present you determin whether without the assistance of the English your Majestie is assured so farr of the reallity of both crowns, as that by conquest you may certainly be restored: If so, I shall not dare to advise your Majestie to reflect on any thing in this account soe as to change your resolution. But if by the proportions they joyntly agree to allow of men, money, or shipping, your Majestie cannot conclude a conquest certaine; I should humbly refer it to your Majesties judgment, whether this opportunity is to be slipt, that now offers it self in England, which if once lost, and eyther party suddenly prevaile. Either Lambert will be establisht by the ruine of all the nobility but the Catholiques, or which is as dismall, a republique setled soe, as God only knows when he in his mercy will destroy it.

#### 94. Sir Herbert Lunsford to Lord Mordaunt.

10/20 Oct. 1659.—My lord, I writ you word that Corney<sup>6</sup> was at Bologne, at Monsieur Bennets,<sup>7</sup> who lives near the water; he speaks English. Mareschall de Turain is cordiall, and desires me to write to him every post, how things stand de dela.<sup>8</sup> I am unwilling to depend on any mans judgment but your lordships whereby

<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry Moore, bart., royalist, of Fawley, Berks; son and heir of Sir Henry Moore of Fawley (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, iv. 2984). He acted as intermediary between Major-general Massey and Alexander Popham in the west (*The Nicholas papers*, iv (1920), 97).

<sup>2</sup> Colonel John Russell.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Bruce.

<sup>4</sup> Sir William Compton.

<sup>5</sup> Sir Charles Compton, Grendon, Northants; younger son of Spencer Compton of Northampton and Compton, 3rd earl of Northampton, and Sir William Compton. He took part in the defence of Banbury for the King (Beesley, *History of Banbury* (1884), pp. 391, 398, 419).

<sup>6</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>7</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>8</sup> On the other side, in England.

I am best instructed. I beseech your lordship to pardon the frequent importunities of your lordships obedient servant, Her. Lunsford.

### 95. Lord Mordaunt to Sir Edward Hyde.

22 Oct. 1659.—My lord,<sup>1</sup> In the first place to acquit myself of my promise to your lordship I assure you, you have a very humble servant safe arrived here, who will make it his endeavour, to give you such certaine advertizements from hence, that by the knowledge of our condition here, you may make your intended supplies, and assistances, more advantagious to the King, then otherwise you could. And this, my lord, you shall not faile of so long as I am in London; I desire I may as constantly heare from your parts, that by taking just measures of our enemies and our own forces, wee may the easier conclude what and when to attempt. And truly I see no probability at all of any accomodation here; though they have resolved that 23<sup>2</sup> whose names I omit, because you will finde them in print, shall manage this confused affaire which is so ridiculous to all serious people. That if the two crowns barely sent to demaund and clayme our Kings right it would produce such excellent effect, either his restoration by treaty, or a defection of most of those have estates, who would conclude from the crownes owning our King, a necessity of his establishment.

But my lord 'tis best (according to our proverb) having two strings to our bow, to prepare and arme, though wee make use of milder wayes at the same time: And indeed 'tis now the generall opinion here if France and Spaine contribute never so little, provided it be suddenly, the work will be done.

In order to it, I am perswading some, I remonstrate to others, and engage all I can, to assert once more their libertyes and to advance the most unquestioned right and tittle in the world. My lord, I find so universall an inclination and propention in those I discourse with; that truly I cannot figure to myself any lesse then a happy event, if the King stay not too long on the frontiers, and give them time to unite against his landing, which I should think most to his advantage, if in severall places. Some considerable inland towns, I hope I have secured him, which will so amaze the army, they will not know where to begin.

Pray my Lord communicate what I send you, as you have occasion to the Mareschall de Turraine, to whom I would write but that I have long discontinued french. We looke on him here with so great an esteeme that if he take care of this action few will doubt the success. By the next I shall be able to send you some particulars and shall be very glad to heare from you of the Kings returne. God only knows how soone it may come to blowes amongst these people, for truly my lord, they seem so exasperated that occasion is only wanting. I am my lord, your most humble servant, Mordaunt.

<sup>1</sup> Written on his arrival in England on 22 Oct. (C.S.P., iii. 590).

<sup>2</sup> 26 Oct. 1659 the army set up a committee of safety of 23 members (Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, ii. 272).

## 96. Lord Mordaunt to Sir Edward Hyde.

[23 Oct. 1659.—Received <sup>1</sup> Hyde's letter of 11 Oct. on the 20th. If Lambert becomes Protector, the royalists will be no better off than under Cromwell. Believes the Catholics to be deeply engaged with Lambert. Monck is understood to lean to the Parliament; with Overton, Fitch and Ludlow in support, they should be able to resist Lambert and the Catholics. Sir Henry Vane and Thurloe are reconciled. Harrington's new commonwealth promoted vigorously in debates. Expects a breach; essential to secure some considerable ports for the landing of a force by the duke of York.]

This part of the letter is printed in *C.S.P.*, iii. 588, under the date 'Calais 24 Oct. 1659'. The rest of the letter in the Mordaunt MS. is as follows:—

My last <sup>2</sup> was intended to have been sent by Dover; but I could not settle that conveyance so much to my security as I supposed, and therefore can expect your commands no wayes but by Paris. Our friends are very chearfull, and particularly the prisoners who will forbear compounding, if it be thought most for the King's interest; there are two or three presbiterians of them have great interest in Lancashire; if they be cajoled, I am assured they will engage all the preachers, and all their relations, as certainly and willingly as at first. I should now give your lordship a particular account of the Cheshire misfortune, but my time will not permit it me by this post.

Pray my lord, doe me the favour to let me heare how his Majestie does and when he intends to returne. For not being able to give some accompt of him, I finde it much discourages those whose hearts we are bound to keep up. For my own particular my lord, assure yourself I am concerned so much in your reputation, that what ever they at Paris or London, say to your prejudice, as to the management of this last affaire, I shall not doubt to turn to their own shame, and twill be made manifest, the sence of their own failings only, have enraged them against those performed their duty truely. And my lord if I judge truly, the King's restoration is not far off, upon the very foundation of the late designe. And I shall not question when I have the honour to be for some days near you, but what I shall be able to informe you of, well digested by your serious thoughts, may afterwards by your directions, succeed to all our wishes, to your lordships great honour and to the approving myself, my lord, his Majesties faithfull subject and your lordships most humble servant, Mordaunt.

## 97. Lord Mordaunt to John Cooper.

*Undated.*—Mr. Cooper,<sup>3</sup> Yours to Nic: Arm: <sup>4</sup> I sent to the King, but feare he will scarce understand it: If at any tyme you have any thing of consequence to

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon MSS, vol lxxv, fos. 206–7, dated Calais 24 Oct. 1659. Partly deciphered cipher. The letter is wrongly dated as from Calais, it has obviously been written after Mordaunt's arrival in England on 22 Oct. The correct date is 24 Oct. 1659.

<sup>2</sup> Probably written from Calais, before Mordaunt returned to England.

<sup>3</sup> *supra*, no. 95.

<sup>4</sup> Nicholas Armorer had received a letter from John Cooper by 21 Sept. (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 382).

communicate ; I have writt to Mr. Rumbald to lend you the cipher, that you may explaine your self as you think fitt. I have an imediate addresse to the King, which will come 14 dayes sooner then the ordinary way. You may make it serviceable to you, and me, on all occasions when you give me the opportunity. Pray present my service to the earle of Chesterfield<sup>1</sup> whom I have been just to in my accounts to the King. I had the relation of all his deportment from Phil. Howard,<sup>2</sup> there are other prisoners with him, I am a most faithfull servant to, others whose constant resolutions are so highly to be cherisht that though I am a stranger to them, you may assure them from me, of all the service I can doe them whenever they command me. I expect dayly the Kings commands, which when I receive, I shall be able to speake something of comfort to you. God send us a happy meeting, and to keep our words better to one another the next tyme. Your humble servant, Mordaunt.

I cannot say my hand is known to you, but I am sure my heart is when I assure you I am more concerned for your misfortune, then for any mans in England. Yet I know you so much a person of honour, that without strong importunityes and arts used to your prejudice, you had not been so persuaded as you were. I have certified the King as much, and he is satisfied the fault was not yours.<sup>3</sup> Pray either by word of mouth or a note, send me the truth, and by whose perswasions you did defer to rise. Assure yourself of two fast friends here, and looke on them who advised you otherwise then we, as your old enemies. In what ever we may serve you command us.

#### 98. Lord Mordaunt to the King.

[*Undated*.—Had<sup>4</sup> received from Sir George Booth expresses every two days the week before the rising. Till the Thursday before 1 Aug. had no grounds for dissatisfaction. Believed that though Mr. R.<sup>5</sup> (Colonel Russell) refused to see writer, he would not prevent action. Lord Br(uce)<sup>6</sup> had given definite promises, does not know who dissuaded him. His not appearing discouraged Lord Northampton<sup>7</sup> and what effect an express from the latter had on Booth, Colonel Whitley's relation will tell the King. Booth was discouraged the Sunday before the action. Thinks

<sup>1</sup> The earl of Chesterfield was arrested 2 Sept. 1659 for complicity in the rising but released on security 5 Oct.; this letter was evidently written before that date (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, pp. 164, 240).

<sup>2</sup> *Philip Howard* (1629-94), the cardinal of Norfolk, was the 3rd son of the 3rd earl of Arundel; 1646 became a Dominican friar; returned May 1659 but escaped abroad. He returned after the restoration, was chaplain to King James II. Braganza; 1675 created cardinal-priest by Clement X. Died at Rome 1694. *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> In his letter to Hyde of 12 Sept. 1659, Cooper defended himself from criticisms brought against him by Mordaunt for his share in the failure of the rising. (*C.S.P.*, iii. 555-7.)

<sup>4</sup> The letter is printed in full in *C.S.P.*, iii. 552-5, under date Sept. 1659, and also in *Carte, Ormonde papers*, ii. 194-200, undated, from the original. The Clarendon MSS., vol. lxiv, fos. 346-7, is a copy by Hartgill Baron endorsed by Hyde. The letter should be dated October, before 4 Oct., by which date Mordaunt had sent Baron with it to the King (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 399).

Mordaunt's account of Booth's defeat should be compared with the three letters of Lambert read in Parliament, 22, 23 Aug. 1659. They are printed in Atkinson, *Tracts relating to the civil war in Cheshire*, 1641-59, Chetham Society (1909), pp. 167-75.

<sup>5</sup>, <sup>6</sup>, <sup>7</sup> in deciphered cipher in the original.



this was the doing of Sir Richard Willis. Booth was in touch with Mr. Ireland,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Holland,<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Brooks,<sup>3</sup> he raised the country, was supported in Chester and other towns but failed to take Chester Castle which the governor<sup>4</sup> held. This the major cause of the failure, Booth deprived of the magazine in the castle. Sir Thomas Middleton<sup>5</sup> rose; had Chester castle been secured, Lambert with only 3000 men would not have ventured to storm it. Thinks some were deterred by the absence of the King, the duke of York, or any considerable person. Booth, on the advance of Lambert, divided his forces, left 700 in Chester, marched with the rest towards Northwich. He was badly served with intelligence, sent most of the powder back to Chester. On the Thursday when the action took place, at the bridge, many without arms. Lord Derby<sup>6</sup> and Sir Thomas Middleton behaved modestly, leaving all to Booth. Lambert was sent a letter by the clergy which encouraged him to advance. The scoutmaster-general Beverley<sup>7</sup> went over to Lambert. Lieut.-colonel Morgan<sup>8</sup> killed. Names of prisoners have been published. The King will no doubt reflect on this failure and see that in future, orders are strictly obeyed.]

### 99. Lord Mordaunt to Captain Titus.

London, 24 Oct. 1659.—Sir, I<sup>9</sup> judged better by the inwards of these English (allow a Sts.<sup>10</sup>) then you did by the starrs, and therefore bragg no more of your excellence, in that part of the mathematiques; nor tell me of your reasons, your

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Gilbert Ireland, in command of the garrison at Liverpool, joined Booth (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 147; Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 172).

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Richard Holland, parliamentarian; of Middlewich, Lancs; supported the parliamentary cause in the civil war (Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 150; *Acts and Ord.*, i. 1239), issued warrants to raise troops for Booth's rising (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 381); taken prisoner in the rising (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 160).

<sup>3</sup> Major Peter Brooke, parliamentarian; M.P. for Newton, Lancs, March 1646, but disabled Sept. 1646; Dec. 1648 member of militia committee for Lancs (*Acts and Ord.*, i. 1239); March 1660 member of militia committee for Cheshire (*Acts and Ord.*, ii. 1428), taken prisoner in Booth's rising (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 160).

<sup>4</sup> Colonel Robert Croxton, parliamentarian, governor of Chester Castle (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, pp. 67, 73, 84).

<sup>5</sup> Sir Thomas Middleton (1586–1666), parliamentarian, eldest son of Sir Thomas Middleton of Chirk Castle; M.P. for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis 1624–25, for Denbighshire 1625, Nov. 1640, till secluded, Dec. 1648; 1642–45 commanded the parliamentary forces in North Wales; 1651 had to give security for good behaviour; Aug. 1659 Chirk Castle surrendered to royalist troops (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 309) and Sir Thomas Middleton joined Booth's rising (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 87); after its defeat he retired to Chirk Castle but fled before its surrender to Lambert on 24 Aug. 1659 (*C.J.*, vii. 769); his estate sequestrated (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, v. 3246). *D.N.B.*

<sup>6</sup> Charles Stanley, 8th earl of Derby (1628–72), royalist; eldest son of James Stanley, 7th earl of Derby, executed 15 Oct. 1651; he joined Booth's rising (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 316); was captured after its defeat (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 147); was imprisoned till 28 Dec. 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 498); at the restoration restored as 8th earl of Derby. *D.N.B.*

<sup>7</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>8</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>9</sup> Lord Mordaunt left Captain Titus at Calais on 18 Oct. 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 414) and reached London by 22 Oct. (*ibid.*, iv. 422).

<sup>10</sup> He is alluding here to his prophecy of the breach between the army and the parliament of 13 Oct. 'Sts' is contraction for *sortes* or omens.

demonstrations, your Tituses, 'tis as I said when we parted at Calais, we were likelier to meet about London, having the joy of short dayes and long nights, then at Madrid where they are more equall.

A little by way of encouragement, before I conclude. There is one of the best gray geldings near the sea side at your unkle's that ever was rid, paces well, gallops sure, what can I say more, the oysters at Bristol<sup>1</sup> are fatt and green-finned, more saporous then those of Lucrine<sup>2</sup>; And here you may finde Lucrece<sup>3</sup> too, with whom a lesse force then the Roman's will prevaile. And now if all this will not bring you over, nothing will, but better companie then you can hope to find of, Sir, your most reall and most affectionate friend and servant, Mordaunt.

### 100. Lord Mordaunt to Sir Edward Hyde.

24 Oct. 1659.—I have<sup>4</sup> now received your lordships of the 25th and likewise your last of the first November<sup>5</sup> with an other from Mr. Church his hand, what date I know not, having left it at Calais in that of the 25 Oct.

[The printed version in *C.S.P.*, iii. 592-4, here begins. Mordaunt thanks Hyde for his care for his safety. The next paragraph omitted in the printed text, reads as follows. 'In my two last, I have said all I can in my defence, and yet if your lordship thinks I have erred in not going, I am heartily sorry I did it not. And for Mr. Jones,<sup>6</sup> though I have reason to have a singular good opinion of him, yet your lordship might have concluded I left little to his relation in a businesse of so important concerne, and if my accounts prove not tedious to his Majestie, I dare presume to say they are so full to all poynts, that his Majestie may receive as much light in his businesse from them as from the discourse I should have made upon the matter'. The printed text here resumes.

The breach between the army and the parliament easily foreseen. Considers Lambert more fitted for command than Fleetwood, and believes he will cast off the latter, who is losing ground and considered ridiculous by the rationalists. Vane fawns on Lambert. Hesilrige has Monck as his friend. Foreign aid and money are needed for the King's cause. Hyde should pay attention to religious considerations in policy. Is sorry his letters have miscarried, begs Hyde to send those in his hands to the King. Has prevailed with the prisoners taken in the late rising not to compound. Asks the King to send a letter to Mr. Holland a prisoner. Colonel Russell

<sup>1</sup> A veiled allusion to the design on Bristol on which Titus with Massey was engaged.

<sup>2</sup> Lake Lucrine, a small lake on the coast of Campania, was famous for its oysters.

<sup>3</sup> Lucretia. Her husband's cousin, Lucius Junius Brutus, drove out the Tarquins and established a republic. In this veiled language, Mordaunt is evidently implying that the moment is propitious in England for another attempt to overthrow the army, and restore the King. 'Lucrece' must be an allusion to England, but it is a forced one.

<sup>4</sup> The correct date is as in Clarendon MSS., vol. lxvi, fos. 113-14, 31 Oct. 1659. The letter is in partly deciphered cipher. It includes a paragraph, omitted in the Mordaunt MS., beginning in the printed text, *C.S.P.*, iii. 593, 'For Sir Richard Willis,' and ending on p. 594, 'miserere etc. etc.'

<sup>5</sup> 15/25 Oct. *infra*, 103. no. 22 Oct./1 Nov. *infra*, no. 116.

<sup>6</sup> Hartgill Baron, sent by Mordaunt to the King.

has caused trouble between writer and Lord Oxford. Lambert goes north with four regiments. Monck's declaration<sup>1</sup> is published and a war begun. Does not like Monck's proceedings; if Lambert destroyed, royalists also lost. Urges the king to come while Lambert's and Monck's armies engaged.]

#### 101. Lord Mordaunt to Major-General Massey.

25 Oct. 1659.—Sir. The importunitie of my friends, and the importance of the occasion forced me so suddenly from Callais, that I omitted giving you<sup>2</sup> the knowledge of it, and judged it pardonable out of these respects; your late quitting those unfortunate parts, and the desire I had to inform my self, more particularly, whether this breach were like to continue so long, as that your service to his Majestie here, might countervail the risque and inconvenience of your remove. Finding little reason to believe these people can any way come to an agreement, I now give you a friendly summons, assuring you I shall be very glad of your assistance and interest, and that till I heare from you nothing shall be done in these parts where I conceive you know your self most usefull. But what you shall approve of, pray acquaint my lord chancellor with it, and let mee have your resolution by the next. The Chancellor will give you my cipher, and send yours in his pacquett to Sir, your most humble and affectionate friend and servant, Mordaunt.

#### 102. John Barwick to the King.

[25 Oct. 1659.—Has<sup>3</sup> opportunity to repeat what he wrote by the last post by Brussels<sup>4</sup> on affairs in Northamptonshire, where he has lately been. Things at a stand for want of Lord N(orthampton) but would not be much better if he were there. The influence of Sir Henry Yelverton great with the clergy; he will receive orders from writer. He says if the King can land forces in Norfolk, he will raise in 20 days 500 horse and secure Northampton. A letter from the King would encourage him. Lord Manchester and Lord Bruce his friends. The negotiations with Monck confirm the account of him given to the King by writer<sup>5</sup> from the friend he expects shortly.]

*Postscript.* 'In these transactions I shall receive my Lord Mordaunt's directions'.

<sup>1</sup> Monck's letters to the speaker, to Fleetwood, and to Lambert asserted his support of parliament against arbitrary action by the army. He also issued a 'Declaration of the commander-in-chief in Scotland and the officers under his command' (23 Oct.); all were printed as pamphlets. (*The Clarke papers*, iv (1901), 66-7, n. 2).

<sup>2</sup> Major-general Massey was then at Dort (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 422). He did not return to England till Jan. 1659-60 (*ibid.*, iv. 533).

<sup>3</sup> Printed in full in Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii 201-2, under date 12 Sept. 1659 and signed '225'. The postscript is omitted in Carte, but the concluding sentence contains the following clause omitted in the Mordaunt MS., 'I shall omit no opportunity in that or any other thing to manifest myself, your most faithful servant, 225'. The correct date is 25 Oct. 1659.

<sup>4</sup> John Barwick to the King 12 Sept. 1659 (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 202-4).

<sup>5</sup> John Barwick to the King 13 Oct. 1659 (*supra*, no. 88).

## 103. Sir Edward Hyde to Lord Mordaunt.

15/25 Oct. 1659.—My lord,<sup>1</sup> I have received your lordships of the 14th,<sup>2</sup> and hope that Mr. Church hath since that tyme returned two of mine to your lordship which I wished him to keep till your arrivall at Paris. I will not dissemble so much with you (though I think my lady would sooner forgive me for it), as to tell you I am glad you have saved your self the paines of so long and troublesome a journey, for as his Majestie is, I am sure without such a cleare information of the affaires of England as he ought to have, may even dispaire of them, and thinks his friends there reduced to so low a condition that they can be of little use to him. Soe, though Mr. Baron be a very honest man, I doubt the King will not be enough satisfied with the information that he shall receive from him except your Lordship have said enough to him under your own hand.

I am very glad you receive so good encouragement from England, and truly I doe judge by my letters from thence, that they are far from any settled condition. But whither we shall be able presently to make advantage of any change I much doubt, unless wee could transport a considerable force from hence.

If I am not deceived, the army will not suffer the Parliament to sit long, yet they would be glad there were some method settled for raising of money. The generall councill of officers beare the name, and seem to contend with the Parliament for the magistracy, and they intend the nation shall be governed by a standing councill of forty honest men, who shall be alwayes chosen by them.

But there is an other committee of five and twenty officers, where Lambert sits in the chaire, and it is believed their purpose is to make Lambert Protector, and I should not be very glad of that change, though I think that government would not last long. I can not tell whether Sir Henry Vane inclines more to Lambert or Fleetwood, but I believe Sir Arthur Haslerig his power is near an end.

Your lordship wishes that we would employ proper persons in England, and I doe very earnestly beg of you, that you would recomend some such persons to us, who are willing to be employed, and they shall not want encouragement.

I am afraid we have received discredit from some who have pretended without the least authority, or indeed privy with any here, and wee have heard frequent complaints of such, and such commissions granted, to such and such men, for which there hath not been the least foundation, in truth; and I have often told you, that the tyme is yet to come, that we ever sent any one person to any one friend there, but such a one who was first trusted by him to us, or such a one as he was willing to speake with upon notice first given to him. I shall be very glad that you will tell me who will be willing to heare from us and what wayes they prescribe for doing of it.

We have been alarm'd these last six or seven dayes by some disorders at Antwerp for regulating whereof the Marquis Caracena hath drawn the whole army thither, where I heare all things will be composed within a day or two. There both the

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon MSS., vol. lxxv, fos. 235–6, draft by Bulteaule, but without the last sentence, 'As I was closing . . . lord.' 15/25 Oct. 1659.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, no. 82.

dukes are and I have sent your letter thither to the duke of Yorke, and it may be I may receive his Highness answer before the departure of the post, which if I doe you will receive in this.

If any such accidents should fall out in . . . England that you should judge it necessary to get men transported from hence, which will hardly be consented to, except upon the possession of some maritime places, I doe not know how you will be able to avoid making some short journey hither, that the ministers may receive more particular information then we shall know how to give them, and for this I must again ask my ladyes pardon.

I presume you have still your cipher by you or els I have perplext you in all mine, and if you will ask me any questions, in which you conceive my opinion may be of any use, you shall be sure to receive it with all possible freedome. I know not what to say to you of the King, more then that there can be no doubt of his being at the frontiers before the two great ministers parted, which was the only thing I apprehended, nor can I possibly imagine the reason why he made no more hast in his journey, except there were some indisposition of health which I doe much feare.

I have not had a word from him, nor any about him, since they left Rochelle, where they staid ten dayes, and then believed all their friends in England destroyed, so that they carried very dejected spirits to the frontiers, and are the more capable of hearkening to extravagant propositions, which there are people enough prepared to make.

If I could believe all that is writt from Paris, the two crowns have declared themselves as we could wish, and the cardinall <sup>1</sup> is no less for warr then Don Louis, which I much doubt. I conceive it was the 9 or 10th of this month before the King got thither, so that I hope to receive letters from him by the next if there be not some obstruction in the way, which of late happens very much. As I was closing this letter I received one from the frontiers of the 14 <sup>2</sup> which comes in ten dayes, when there was no newes of the King, which makes me besides my self. God keep your lordship and my good lord. Your lordships most obedient servant, Edw. Hide.

#### 104. Lord Mordaunt to Sir Edward Hyde.

[*London*, 26 Oct. 1659.—Cannot <sup>3</sup> doubt that Hyde is satisfied that writer, foreseeing the breach in England, was right in not going to the King. Arrived in England on 22 Oct. Had not the embargo stayed letters, would have been here at the time of the breach. It seems to him a miracle that no blows succeeded Morley's clapping a pistol to Lambert's breast. Lambert was saved by Duckenfield.<sup>4</sup> Asks for Hyde's

<sup>1</sup> Hyde's doubts of French assistance were well founded. In his letter of 29 Aug./8 Sept. 1659 to Turenne, Mazarin emphasized the need of caution in regard to English appeals to assist Charles II (D'Avenel, *Lettres de Cardinal Mazarin*, ix (1896), 274-9.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Bennet to Hyde, Fuentarabia, 4/14 Oct. 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 399).

<sup>3</sup> Printed in full in *C.S.P.*, iii. 590. Clarendon MSS., vol. lxvi, fo. 43. Endorsed by H. Hyde, partly deciphered cipher.

<sup>4</sup> *Lieutenant-colonel John Duckenfield*, who had taken a leading part in the promotion of the Derby petition, prevented bloodshed between the troops of Lambert and the parliament on

advice in this intricate business. Will obey his commands. Asks for the truth concerning the King's reception and the reasons of his long stay. Fears if this is continued, it will prove unhappy. Does not know who is with the King, if Ormonde is at the French court. Is confident that Charles Lyttleton's news<sup>1</sup> will have made Hyde ready to seize any seasonable opportunity.]

**105. Lord Mordaunt to Sir Herbert<sup>2</sup> Lunsford.**

26 Oct. 1659.—Sir, I believe the mareschall<sup>3</sup> took my letter civilly, because you say it, which els I should not have done, because he answered it not. But Sir, I am too much the Kings servant to loose the substance for the shadow, and for an others omission to forget my own dutie. This account you may depend on; the confusion increases so much that the resolutions of our oppressors change oftener then can be expressed, so that to say positively what will remaine firm I dare not, unless it be their guilt, which never will forsake them. Lambert and Fleetwood bandy now in earnest. Fleetwood I will get tasted, but my opinion is, Lambert will lead the army. For the navy, tis possible to find a way to cajole them. But though you mention money, you name not the sum, nor what parts shall receive our shippes if the attempt succeed. Pray in these be pleased to be more particular, these being poynts of concerne. What occurs, you shall be informd of, and truly from, sir, your most humble and faithfull servant, Mordaunt.

Present my most humble service to the mareschall.

**106. William Rumbold to the King.**

27 Oct. 1659.—Sir, The inclosed is copy of one, that I sent to your Majestie by way of Callais, the same day that the parliament was dissolved, but being informed that all the pacquets since that time are stayed at Dover,<sup>4</sup> I have presumed to send this duplicate: What hath since happened your Majestie will receive an account of by the letters that I send herewith from the lord Mordaunt, whose coming hither was very seasonable in order to your Majesties service, to the promoting whereof, when I have contributed all my endeavours they will appear so inconsiderable, as to stand in need of your Majesties pardon, the which I beg with all humility as your Majesties most humble, obedient and most loyall subject and servant, W. Rumbold.

**107. Lord Mordaunt to the King.**

[London, 27 Oct. 1659.—Had<sup>5</sup> sent by Nicholas Armorer by Calais news of the 12 Oct. and took part in the ejection of the parliament on 13 Oct. (*infra*, no. 107; Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 139; Firth, *Regimental history*, ii. 412-13).

<sup>1</sup> Charles Lyttleton brought to Hyde the news of the breach between the army and the parliament (*C.S.P.*, iii. 596).

<sup>2</sup> Incorrectly described in the heading to the letter as Sir 'Henry' instead of Sir 'Herbert' Lunsford.

<sup>3</sup> Marshal Turenne.

<sup>4</sup> Bordeaux in his letter to Mazarin of 25 Nov./5 Dec. says that after the rupture of the parliament, the posts were closed and his despatches detained (Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, ii. 292).

<sup>5</sup> Printed in full, and with several additional particulars, in detail the events of 12-13 Oct. 1659 in London, in Carte, *Ormonde papers*, i. 1, 214-5. In the original Carte MSS., vol. xxx, fo. 487, Mordaunt's signature is given in cipher.

certainly of a breach between the parliament and the army ; now sends a full account of it. The parliament, jealous of Lambert resolved to reduce his power, and prevailed on Fleetwood to agree that the supreme power of the army should reside in parliament. The Speaker<sup>1</sup> was appointed general, all commissions to issue from him and a new oath to be imposed. But the next day all was transformed. A new constitution now set up, a council of 27 to choose a senate of 70<sup>2</sup> and these to elect a great council of 4000, which will enact laws and raise money. A standing army of 30,000 men and a militia to be raised and maintained. Will send the King constant accounts of affairs and of the offers of those ready to run any risks on his summons, finds a general desire to serve the King's fortunes.]

### 108. Lord Mordaunt to the King.

*London, 27 Oct. 1659.*—Sir, Your affaires here have at present so cheerfull a face that tis not without great satisfaction to me I am able to give your Majestie this account. A. Haz.<sup>3</sup> being informed Colonel Cobbett was sent from Lambert to Monck, or rather to the army in Scotland dispatched one away who arrived some houres before Cobbett. Monck thus prepared heard his message, and returnd answer he could not write back, or if he did, in no other stile, then that of his last, which he supposed would not be very pleasing to the army. After some other indifferent discourse, he letts Cobbett use his libertie, which he did and knowing to whom to apply, he mett, as he supposed privately, with 17 officers, and they were no sooner sett in privat councill, but they were apprehended by Monck's order and secured.<sup>4</sup> To this, t'is now credibly reported Overton<sup>5</sup> joynes with Monck, so that a warr appears unavoidable if Lambert be not too suddenly crusht, he has sent orders to Salmon's<sup>6</sup> regiment to march to Scotland.

Sir, this blessed change will prove so happy to all your designes, that if your Majestie can in few dayes convey your selfe to any place where weekly accounts may be given you, I see not how your affaires can miscarry, especially if mareschall de Turraine be so ready as he sends me word. The only dissatisfaction I finde is the strange impression I finde Sir R: W:<sup>7</sup> and his friends have made in many of your

<sup>1</sup> The speaker asked Lieutenant-general Fleetwood if he would agree to be one of the seven commissioners, appointed by the parliament 13 Oct. 1659, to control the army and he agreed to do so (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 137).

<sup>2</sup> Bordeaux in his letter to Mazarin of 20/30 Oct. 1659 confirms this account of the army's plan to form a council with a senate of 70 (Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, ii. 267, 272).

<sup>3</sup> Sir Arthur Hesilrige.

<sup>4</sup> Lieutenant-colonel Ralph Cobbett, was sent on 16 Oct. by Fleetwood and the council of officers to Monck to represent their case. 22 Oct. he was arrested at Berwick by Monck's orders (*The Clarke papers*, iv. 69).

<sup>5</sup> Colonel Robert Overton refused to sign the address circulated by Fleetwood to the army. He wished to maintain a neutral position, but on refusing to pledge himself to Monck to act against the army in England, was deprived by Monck of his command (Firth, *Regimental history*, ii. 558-9).

<sup>6</sup> Lieutenant-colonel Edward Salmon, parliamentarian soldier, in 1649 in regiment of foot ; 1649 he was deputy governor of Hull (Firth, *Regimental history*, ii. 531) ; 1656 one of the Admiralty commissioners (*ibid.*, ii. 532) ; in Oct. 1659 he took the side of Lambert and Fleetwood against the parliament (*ibid.*, ii. 538).

<sup>7</sup> Sir Richard Willis.

party, tis Sir, that none ought to prepare, least it unite these who are now upon the point of breaking, the ill consequences of this pernicious advice are apparent to any person of sence, for if we are not prepared, to what advantage can we turn the opportunity given? And truly Sir, if either party prevaile coming to a day, which I feare they will before your Majestie be here, t'will prove distructively fatall to all your friends.

I have againe solicited the dukes of York and Gloucester to prepare against your Majesties comming, which Sir, in the name of most of your faithfull servants your Majestie is desired to hasten. I have acquitted myself of my duty to your Majestie by my constant information of the hopefull condition of your affaires here which as your Majestie finds by my accounts I never thought desperate, for the foundation of the last engagement was too well laid to be ruined by the misfortune of Sir Geo: Booth, of which I had clearly satisfied your Majestie, had you not been removd before my arrivall in France. God of heaven direct your Majestie in your resolutions, and restore you safe to your people. I presume to send your Majestie this note from Dr. Wilde,<sup>1</sup> who has accesse to the prisoners at Lambeth, the person he desires the letter for is Collonell Holland.

I think it likewise my duty to advertize your Majestie that Sir Thomas Middleton will suddenly kisse your hands, I suppose his business is chiefly to prevaile with your Majestie to push some forces into Wales, and that my Lord Gerrard<sup>2</sup> may command them. I knowing the temper of most there and how much they love their own countrymen cannot omitt giving your Majestie this account, that your Majesties wisdom may determine whether it be most for your interest or no. I am, Sir, as my duty obliges me to be to your Majestie a most loyall and most faithfull subject and servant, Mordaunt.

#### 109. Lord Mordaunt to the duke of York.

[*London, 27 Oct. 1659.*—Knew<sup>3</sup> his return to England was absolutely necessary. Unless the King or duke of York come over, this unequalled occasion will be lost. If the war in Scotland is not yet begun, it is likely to be so, before this letter arrives. Monck has secured Cobbett and 17 more officers and declares for the parliament. Hull joins with him. Fears lest Lambert be destroyed before the King comes. The north needs a person of quality to raise forces and conduct them, Confusion is increasing.]

<sup>1</sup> *Dr. George Wilde* (1610–65), bishop of Derry, son of Henry Wilde citizen of London; 1647 ejected from his fellowship at St. John's college, Oxford, and from his living of Biddenden, Kent; 1654–55 he preached in London at St. Gregory's; 1660–61 bishop of Derry. Died Dec. 1665 at Dublin. *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> *Charles Gerard, 1st Baron Gerard and earl of Macclesfield* (d. 1694), royalist; eldest son of Sir Charles Gerard of Brandon, Suffolk; in the first civil war he commanded the King's forces in South Wales; from 1646 he was in exile. 1652 he commanded the King's life guards; he also served in 1654 under Turenne as a volunteer. In Oct. 1659 he was in Paris. He returned to England at the restoration. 1645 Baron Gerard; 1679 created earl of Macclesfield. Died 1694. *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> Printed in full in *C.S.P.*, iii. 590–1. Clarendon MSS., vol. lxvi, fos. 44–5, partly in deciphered cipher.



## 110. Lady Mordaunt to Lord Mordaunt.

27 Oct. 1659.—According to your command Charles Lyttleton<sup>1</sup> is gon with your letters to the King, and those he brought from the duke I sent the last week in a box to Salbe<sup>2</sup> with one from H. B.<sup>3</sup> Pray let me know if you have received them. Besides the letters, the duke gave Charles these instructions, to tell you that the two great frigats at Ostend cannot be got ready under a months time, and that with great expence more than he fears they are able to lay out, but that there are other frigatts which may be hired if you can procure money. And the duke desires him to present handsomly to you his own particular want of money, having in the last business<sup>4</sup> laid out all he was worth, without any assistance from England, from whence he had never received farthing but once from a servant of his own, at which he wondered and he said that none of you tooke so much care of him as to send any person to conduct him into England when he was to come; and he desired Charles that if there were the least scruple in England concerning his returne, or duty to his King, that he desired they might be satisfied in it, that he might not come with that prejudice upon him; and he desires you will endeavour the getting Dover Castle or some seaport upon the French coasts, and to endeavour the getting some shippes and frigatts if possible.

We are vastly run in debt here by conveying all those expresses. Colonel Whitley carried your letters for Flanders upon his own accompt and when he returns from thence he intends for England if you approve it.<sup>5</sup>

111. Sir Herbert<sup>6</sup> Lunsford to Lady Mordaunt.

19/29 Oct. 1659.—Madame, Had I not received commands from my noble lord your husband I should not have taken the presumption thus to importune your ladyship. But my obedience to his lordship being without limitation, I presume your ladyship will please to look upon the cause as producing the effects.

I have according to the commands of my lord delivered his letter to the worthy Mareschall who received it extreemly well, and desires to have the particular knowledge of his lordships proceedings, which will govern his Highness in what is requisite here.

Be pleased Madame to assure his lordship by an infallible messenger that the Mareschal<sup>7</sup> is ready with all the forces to assist as affaires require in England, that

<sup>1</sup> Charles Lyttleton did not start from Calais with Mordaunt's letters to the King till after 4 Nov.; he was still then at Calais (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 432).

<sup>2</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>3</sup> Hartgill Baron.

<sup>4</sup> This refers to the duke of York's plan for invading England from Boulogne in Aug. 1659, with the aid of Turenne, who supplied him with 7,000 to 8,000 francs of his own money (de Grimoard, *Collection de lettres et mémoires du maréchal de Turenne*, i. 304).

<sup>5</sup> Unsigned.

<sup>6</sup> Incorrectly headed 'Sir Henry Lunsford' instead of Sir 'Herbert'.

<sup>7</sup> The correspondence of Turenne with his wife and with Cardinal Mazarin, shows that after he had learnt of the failure of Booth's rising, he thought no landing was possible for the duke of York in Sept. or Oct., though his will to assist remained good (de Grimoard, *Collection des lettres et mémoires du maréchal de Turenne*, i. 301-3).

the greatest obstacle will be want of shipping. His Highness would have some persons underhand feels the pulses of those which command the English shippes, if by money or any other means they may be reduced to their obedience: that if a breach is between Fleetwood and Lambert to sound Fleetwood and offer for himself and partie what reason and policy will induce, and to assure him, that if he can doubt of our Masters obligation for performance, the Mareschal will become obligator.

This or any other secret may be communicated to Lieutenant Collonel Tho: Howard<sup>1</sup> who is to be heard of at the watchmakers over against Kerke House. Be pleased Madame to use celerity in this, and desire his lordship to send with expedition the reality of all in England, that I may present them in the best manner to his Highness, I send this purposely by a gentleman who will make expedition and will securely bring me your ladyships commands, which shall be most humbly received and readily obeyed by, Madame, your ladyships obedient servant, Her. Lunsford.

## 112. Lord Mordaunt to General Schomberg.<sup>2</sup>

29 Oct. 1659.—My lord, Confusion multiplies so fast that how to give you a sober account is hard. The committee of safety which makes it self now the supreme authority have taken away both the law and the tithes, so that disturbance must follow. Lambert is marched away<sup>3</sup> towards Monck, and tis disputable who will have the best army. Monck resolves to be upon the defensive, so that Lambert must march into Scotland to seeke him and the season being now so severe, t'will incommode his men extreemly; t'will be near a monthes march to the frontiers of Scotland from hence, so that if by the assistance of France we can doe any thing, you may assure your self of vast numbers of men if you bring arms sufficient with you and amunition, and it has been my particular care to prepare these countreys against you land that we may horse some thousands and march directly to London, in which is left only two regiments of foot, and eight troops of horse, and these divided in opinions. Pray my lord believe me, the King my master had never so faire a game for it as now, and if France assist him he cannot miscarry if he makes hast, all depending on diligence.

This account you may safely give that great captain Mareschall de Turraine

<sup>1</sup> *Lieutenant-colonel Thomas Howard*, 6th son of Thomas Howard, 1st earl of Berkshire, and cousin to Mordaunt, was acting under his directions with Lunsford in negotiations with Turenne (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 230).

<sup>2</sup> *Frederick Herman, duke of Schomberg* (1615–90), soldier, the only son of Hans Meinhard von Schomberg of Heidelberg, marshal of the Palatinate; served in the Dutch and Swedish armies in the Thirty Years War and after 1650 as a volunteer in the French army. June 1655 he was appointed lieutenant-general under Turenne and fought at the battle of the Dunes 14 July 1658. He was appointed governor of Bergues, Furnes and Dixmuyden (de Ramsay, *History of Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne* (1735), i. 325); Aug. 1659 he tried to draw over to Charles II's cause officers in the garrison at Dunkirk (Carte, *Ormonde*, iii. 683); in Oct. 1659 he expressed a wish to enter the king's service (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 405). He acted as intermediary between Mordaunt and Turenne. After the peace of the Pyrenees he served in the armies of Portugal, England, France, but after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes left France and died at the battle of the Boyne (1690) in the service of William III. *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> Lambert did not leave London for the north till 3 Nov. 1659 (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 151).

from me who know it to be true, being upon the place : the Anabaptists swarm here, and wee apprehend a massacre. I wish I could heare of the Kings returne from your lordship which would oblige infinitely your lordships most humble and obliged servant, Mordaunt.

Pray my lord let me heare from you.

My most humble service to ye Mareschal I beseech you.

### 113. Lord Mordaunt to Lady Mordaunt.

*London, 31 Oct. 1659.*—I have so very much to discourse, that you must not chide me if I give you general orders what to doe. In the first place, keep up the designe of Dunkirk. Assure Count Schomberg the warr is begun, and both armies upon their march, Lambert conducts this, and this day we heare nothing but drums and trumpets. 4 regiments march from hence to joyne with others in Lincolnshire. Monck is come into England with 15 regiments, 9 of foot, 4 of horse, and 2 of dragoons, he has taken Carlisle and Berwick, and marches to Newcastle.<sup>1</sup> I feare Lambert will be too soone destroyed. And if the King loose this opportunity, he will loose both his reputation, and his crown's. He is advised to come even though with but 3000 men which if he does all is his own.

God has strangely blest me in my negotiation for him here, and did not the entry and malice of some people obstruct me, I might put faire to doe his business my self. Let Sir H. Lunsford have this account to give the Mareschall, and let him press all wayes to have every thing ready against I come, for I intend to be with you in ten days. If these people fight before, t'will be ill for the King. If B.<sup>2</sup> be returned and the King on his journey hither, send him back with the King's, and let him presse for a speedy attempt. If B. be not come, Charles Lyttleton will be the finest person to send to him, whom you must instruct fully.

All stands very faire, and my only feare is the P<sup>3</sup> . . . prevailing who will tye up the King I know, all they can. The whole consists in dispatch.

God in heaven blesse Deare,<sup>4</sup>

### 114. Lord Mordaunt to the King.

*London, 31 Oct. 1659.*—Sir, The miscarriage of some late pacquets<sup>5</sup> gives me apprehensions that Lockhart has corrupted the postmaster, and intercepted most or all the accounts I sent your Majestie, if so, t'is highly unfortunate and your Majestie cannot possibly divine the good posture your affaires are in here. I constantly write

<sup>1</sup> General Monck marched to Edinburgh on 18 Oct. ; 21 Oct. Berwick was secured for him by Captain Johnson ; the attempt to secure Carlisle failed, and Lambert's forces occupied Newcastle before Monck's troops could do so (Baker, *Chronicle*, pp. 582, 583). Mordaunt's figures of Monck's army are not accurate ; in Oct 1659 Monck commanded 10 regiments of foot, 3 of horse and 4 companies of dragoons (*The Clarke papers*, iv. xxii).

<sup>2</sup> Hartgill Baron, whom Mordaunt had sent to the King at the beginning of Oct.

<sup>3</sup> The presbyterians.

<sup>4</sup> Unsigned.

<sup>5</sup> In his letter of 22 Oct./1 Nov. 1659 to Mordaunt, Hyde gives an account of the robbery of the post from Calais to Paris (*infra*, no. 117).

once a week, and find Mr. Church received all the pacquets I sent ; unless this that the chancellor has in his hands.

Sir, I have given you so just knowledge of all your business from time to time, that unless some accident had befallen my letters I cannot but believe your Majestie would ere this time have been at Paris or nearer England, I haveing assured your Majestie of the infallible certainly of this breach, some weeks before it broke out. And Sir, the eruption is so violent, that unless your Majestie be here to act your own part, I fear your Majestie may not find that advantage by it you may upon the first prospect expect. For Sir, if it come to a day of decision and your Majestie not in a posture before or just upon the time to shew yourself in arms, as the saviour of your people from the ambition and violence of two great pretenders or pretending parties ; to whomsoever the fate of successe shall fall, it may have for concomitant such alluring hopes that we often see bewitch the reasons of daring men, who will know no bound so long as their good fortune increases.

To this Sir, I am to acquaint your Majestie that some of the presbyterian Lords <sup>1</sup> have sent to Monck all the encouragements imaginable to come into England, and some of these Lords first invited the Scotts. Pray God this invitation prove more fortunate. For though your Majesties affaires never had so good a face, as now they have, and all serious men looke upon your restoration as most certaine, yet Sir, my duty obliges me to tell you, some of this caball talk of the articles of the Isle of Wight,<sup>2</sup> which sure your Majestie will never condescend to, having so faire a game before you. Fleetwood was first designed to conduct the army, because Lambert and Monck had formerly great piques, but now Lambert goes, by which your Majestie may conclude they resolve to fight. My opinion is Monck will doe his businesse, the divisions considered. Lambert leaves behind him both Vane and Fleetwood his enemies, and so small an army to encounter the knitt forces of Scotland. This day 4 regiments march away to join with Salmon and Hacker.<sup>3</sup> If this comes to your Majesties hands as I hope it will, your Majestie will I question not, make usefull all the helps your friends in France and Flanders have offered you. And Sir, tis the cleare opinion of those you trust, that your Majestie cannot use more diligence then is necessary. I have again solicited the duke of York and Mareschall Turraine, soe that having prepared all I can here for your reception, and used my industry in France, if it be found necessary I will wait on your Majestie very suddenly that by a fuller account, your Majestie may be satisfied of the constant endeavours of, Sir, your Majesties most loyall and most faithfull subject and servant, Mordaunt.

I just now heare Monck has made himself master of Berwick and Carlisle and is marching to Newcastle, and I hope Sir to reconcile so many to their duty, that your

<sup>1</sup> The overture to Monck by some of the presbyterians was also believed in by Barwick (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 256).

<sup>2</sup> The proposals of the presbyterians to Charles I in Sept. 1648 in the treaty of Newport.

<sup>3</sup> Colonel Francis Hacker (d. 1660), regicide, 3rd son of Francis Hacker of East Bridgeford and Colston Basset, Notts ; he supported the parliament in the first civil war in Leicestershire ; 1649 regicide and supervised the execution of Charles I ; 1659 M.P. for Leicestershire ; June 1659 accepted commission from the speaker (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 90-1) ; Oct. 1659 suspended from his command (Firth, *Regimental history*, i. 236) ; he was reinstated in Jan. 1660 (*ibid.*, i. 237) ; executed as a regicide 19 Oct. 1660 (*ibid.*, i. 239). D.N.B.

Majestie will not be offended I came over hither without your Majesties particular command, which I had staid to receive, but that this conjuncture seemed to me very precious.

#### 115. Lord Mordaunt to the duke of York.

31 Oct. 1659.—May it please your royall Highness, The occasion now appears so faire, that your Highness may draw a certain conclusion from what the ministers shall answer; If they contribute men, armes and vessells, they have ever intended his Majesties restoration. If they demurre, tis so ill a signe, that, you may conclude somewhat they aime at is kept secret. The warre being now begun, if from those parts your Highness can draw 3000 men with a considerable proportion of armes and amunition, I should think that strength alone fully sufficient to doe the worke.

This day Lambert marches from hence, who conducts these forces and I feare he will not be able to make long opposition to Monck, who has rendered himself master already of Barwick and Carlisle, and is marching to Newcastle. M.<sup>1</sup> if he prevaille will I feare be found both a republican and a presbiter, so that his Majesties interest, as appears to me consists in dispatch, for whilst these armies draw neare each other wee shall have time to body, and then at least we shall have a day for it.

Their malice is so high against our party, that they use all this hast to come to a day least we make use of time to their common destruction.

Sir I most humbly beg your Highness pardon, I am forced to break of, els I had drawn this account out in length that your royall Highness might particularly rest satisfied of the endeavours of your royall Highnes most humble and obedient servant, Mordaunt.

#### 116. Sir Edward Hyde to Lord Mordaunt.

22 Oct./1 Nov. 1659.—My lord,<sup>2</sup> The enclosed was prepared to be sent to Calais where I thought it would find your lordship, when in the instant Charles Lyttleton arrived with yours of the 27th,<sup>3</sup> and the account of the change in England. However though some things in it may be lesse pertinent then appeared to me before, having not time to make a new dispatch, I venture to send the same, presuming that you will excuse anything that is amiss in it.

The dukes apply themselves all the wayes they can to be in a readiness if a good opportunity be offered, which you will advertize us by frequent and discreet messengers, to which if our friends there will not now contribute, and somewhat likewise for that expence here, we shall not know what to doe, there being not money here in the least proportion to bear the ordinary necessary expence.

I hope the two crowns will speedily give effectuall orders for such assistance as is worthy of the King and them; But I am perswaded if any visible advantages appeare before those orders can be adjusted, as the possession of any place, the Dukes

<sup>1</sup> General Monck.

<sup>2</sup> Clarendon MSS., vol. lxvi, fo. 13, 22 Oct./1 Nov. 1659: holograph draft.

<sup>3</sup> Mordaunt to Hyde 17/27 Oct. 1657, Clarendon MSS., vol. lxv, fos. 244-5, endorsed by Hyde.

will be able to prevaile with these ministers to assist to the utmost of their power with such a body as may be fitt for the Dukes to venture their own persons with. But if the army shall appear united under Lambert or any other generall, all that can be said here, will never prevaile with the ministers to venture upon their own heads, but they will expect full order from Spaine.

I hope N: Armorer, will give the King such an accompt as will quickly bring him to us againe. I shall write to morrow all I can. I will give you all the instances I can of a very entire confidence in your friendship and of my being very faithfully your most affectionate humble servant, Ed. Hide.

### 117. Sir Edward Hyde to Lord Mordaunt.

22 Oct./1 Nov. 1659.—My lord,<sup>1</sup> My last to you was of this day sevenight, and I hope all my former have been sent forward by Mr. Church to whose care I likewise commend this. The French post brought me no letter from you, at least none that you intended me, and yet I have a very sufficient argument to write, and such as will trouble you enough as it hath done me, and yet if you consider well of it, we have both great reason to be very gladd, and to looke at the accident as a great instance of Gods goodness to us. Can your lordship believe that your letter to the King of the 22nd <sup>2</sup> and Mr. William Rumbolds to you of the sixth <sup>3</sup> of the last moneth, should be now in my hands; yet Providence hath brought it so about.

It seem's the post from Callais this last week was robbed and very many of his letters opened, so that when they came to Paris a friend of mine being by accident at the posthouse, when the letters were poured out, and seeing many of them English, and without so much as covers, gathered up half a dozen of them, and I verily believe without reading of them sent them to me, in order to know the newes from England and amongst the rest those two letters I have mentioned to you.

You know what others kept them company, and to whom; and I must tell you I am very glad of the miscarriage; if they had gone further, how well soever they had been recommended at Paris, it is very probable they might have fallen into Lockharts <sup>4</sup> hands, who since his going to Bayonne, by the villany of the postmaster, or by some other way, hath found means to intercept our letters, to open them, and take coppies of them, and then send them forward according to their directions; And so he hath furnished the councill with coppies of some of my letters, of which I am sure neither he nor they can make any thing, I having never writt anything of moment but in cipher, but he hath sent coppies of some other letters from the

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon MSS., vol. lxvi, fo. 316, draft by Bulteale. The letter is calendared under the date 19/29 Nov. ? in *Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 453, but its correct date is 22 Oct./1 Nov. The answer to it is the letter of Mordaunt to Hyde, 24 Oct. (*supra*, no. 100).

<sup>2</sup> Clarendon MSS., vol. lxv, fos. 190-2 (*supra*, no. 66).

<sup>3</sup> Clarendon MSS., vol. lxv, fos. 143-4 (*C.S.P.*, iii. 574-5).

<sup>4</sup> Colonel Sir William Lockhart arrived at St. Jean de Luz by 1/11 Aug. 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 304). Monsieur de Marcés, an official in the French post office, intercepted in the interests of Charles II, some of Lockhart's letters to England (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 132), but Lockhart also intercepted letters of Hyde; the discovery of this by Marcés made him fear detection, and he fled to Brussels in the end of Sept. (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 383).

Pallace Royall and from Fuentarabia, which have informed them of more then they should have known.

I must beseech you, my Lord, for these reasons to write nothing into those parts but so disguised in cipher that you may receive no prejudice in what hand soever it falls, and no caution can prevent those hazzards, if they be transmitted by post. You shall doe well to recollect your self what other letters you sent by that post, because it is probable they may have all the same fate. And yet I had one from Collonell Philips<sup>1</sup> of the same date the two and twentieth, that came well enough though I doe not think it past through any hand it was directed to at Paris. It will not I think be of use to take notice of some of those particulars I have told you, otherwise then for your own caution, nor is the miscarriage of these two letters known to any body but to your lordship and to my self; and if I doe take notice to Mr. Rumbold of any of the particulars in his letter to you I shall doe it as matters upon which you have asked my opinion, as in that point of our friends compounding, it is great pittie they should not be advised to forbear it. For besides that methinks it should be no good husbandry to compound with a power so unlike to stand, I cannot believe it possible that winter can passe without the Kings making some attempt worthy of him.

I remember well it was one of the principall arguments many men heretofore made for their compounding, that by parting with a little they should become masters of the rest, and so be the better able to serve the King, and to transport what they thought fitt on this side the sea for their own conveniencies, But God knows how little they have done towards either of these ends by their compounding, and you can tell how forward any of them have been to venture either their persons or their fortunes, and let no man who thinks of compounding flatter himself with an opinion that he shall be suffered to compound without abjuring the King, and all these duties which his allegiance obliges him to, and how good an ingredient such an oath is like to be towards the future serving his Majestie is not hard to judge.

I cannot imagine whence my lord of Oxfords<sup>2</sup> indisposition hath proceeded, there being not the least coulour for his suspition that all offices should be done him to the King, and as you know very well the mention the King made of him in his first instructions, so we tooke all the care we could, that he might know the esteeme of, and the confidence the King had in him. Our misfortune was that his friendship and conversation lay most amongst those men with whom wee had no commerce, yet I had some kind messages from him, through the hands of a very worthy gentleman who was not enough with him; yet I believe I shall find a way to remove all his mistakes and to give him an entire information.

I know not what to say more concerning Sir Richard Willis and those stubborn persons who will still be guided by him in spight of anything said to them. It is

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Robert Phelps (d. 1707), 2nd son of Sir Robert Phelps of Montacute, Somerset; assisted the King's escape after the battle of Worcester (Clarendon, *Hist.*, xiii. 103); gentleman of the chamber to the duke of Gloucester (*The Nicholas papers*, ii (1892), 296 n. a); 1687 chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.

<sup>2</sup> In his reply to this letter, dated 31 Oct. 1659, Mordaunt told Hyde 'Colonel Russell has done no good offices betwixt my Lord of Oxford and me' (C.S.P., iii. 593).

very strange they should believe it possible the King should make a conclusion so inconvenient and uneasie to himself, without such evidence as cannot deceive him, and yet that it is as impossible that he can produce that evidence. I writ to Mr. Rumbold who himself seemed more to submit to what he was bid believe, then that in truth he did think him guilty of so horrid a crime. And assured him that the King doth not more know that he corresponds with mee and what information he gives me, then he doth know that Sir Rich: Willis hath for a long time corresponded with Thurloe and what information he hath given him. And in truth that Thurloe himself hath been preserved since the change of the government principally upon the service he hath done by the means of that good knight. And yet I shall not be at all surprized (knowing well how long it was before I could myself be convinced), if Mr. N<sup>1</sup> . . . be perswaded to think him injured, and indeavour to perswade some of his friends to think so too who will be forward enough to concurr purely for the contradiction.

I must in the last place beseech your lordship not to suffer your self to be affected with the forwardnesse and envy and malice of other men. Whosoever shall act that part that you have done, lately shall not only raise himself enemies of very wicked men, but of those who are less good then himself. There was a proportion of affection that made a reasonable shew in promises and professions till it was discountenanced by your warmth and zeale, which made them see that they must act as well as talke or els they must loose their credit, and they will never forgive you for it, till they find the same fire in their own breasts, and then they will love you and be as grievous to others, as you have been to them.

If I know your master he hath that full sence of your lordships part of what you have done and suffered, and of what others have not done, how much soever they suffer, that you need not care what others say. I have told you before that I cannot doubt but that some vigorous enterprize will be undertaken this winter by both crowns. But how to dispose and form things in England as may either give us reputation afore, for reall and sollid assistance and such upon which we may depend in the proper conjuncture, I cannot propose ; the method prescribed by the King in these last preparations, was the best we could think of, and most like to answer all objections and prevent all inconveniences. Nor doe I know upon the experience wee have had how to propose a better ; yet how to prosecute the same I doe as little know, there being no man that I know of interest, and reputation enough who takes it to heart, and will make it his care as you did ; Men of honor and fortune will not own and avow the having anything immediatly to doe with us, and yet they make it matter of reproach to us, that wee employ unknown and uninterested persons, when in truth even they are of their own choosing and recommendation to us ; And I cannot but confesse that many of them how honest soever, prove by degrees inconvenient enough. Men who are this day used for messengers for their integrity sake, within a moneth or two, upon those necessary communications of business which must be discoursed to them to give light to the letters they carry, will turne counsellors, and because they know somewhat, believe they know all, and councill and

<sup>1</sup> Richard Nicholls, who continued to support the cause of Sir Richard Willis (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 435).



censure accordingly, and by degrees are very angry if they do not know all they have a mind to know. And when two or three of that classe meet who have been trusted in severall parts and to severall purposes, they communicate as freely together as if they had been deputed to each other and it is a miracle that we have suffered no more inconveniences from this root, though very many we have suffered.

The worke cannot be done by letters how voluminous soever, nor by messengers from this side, I meane any among us who when they come there must walk by night, and with whom wary men will be no more known to conferre, then they will to receive a letter from the King, but that which is first to be provided for is, to get some persons there who trust one another enough, to consult what is fit to be done, and of the way of doing it. If in truth mens understandings be so much reformed and improved upon the late failings and misadventures as is presumed, we shall receive some advantage and benefitt from that calamity, which is most grievous to us; and our friends who are in prison together will better communicate their thoughts and observations, and project some wholesome expedients then they did when they were at libertie, and then it would be no hard matter for them to chuse (it may be in severall places and to severall purposes) discreet and unsuspected persons, who may come over into these parts without the least danger of being known to be here, and informe us as well, of what is thought to be done amisse so (for future councells can only be rectified by knowing the errors of the precedent) as what is now to be done, and they will return as well informed and instructed as warantable conclusions may be made, and all mischievous mistakes prevented. How this can be concluded your lordship can best judge, as much better known and trusted there than I can pretend to be, only upon the little experience I have had of some things and persons, it may be I may be able upon occasion, to offer some hints to you, which by the vivacity of your understanding may be of some use. I should add a word to you of Dunkirk and how much it were to be wished that you were prepared for that affaire, but that I have given you too much cause to complain of the length of this despatch and that you are already too much tired by your most affectionate humble servant, Edward Hide.

#### 118. Sir Edward Nicholas to Lady Mordaunt.

22 Oct./1 Nov. 1659.—If L.<sup>1</sup> . . . shall get himself to be chief magistrate in England, he can never do anything so advantageous or securely for him and his, nor so well for his countrey, as to be a means upon marriage of his only child (which I think is a daughter) to his own content, to restore his Majesty to his throne and just rights. And if a business could be handsomely proposed to 824 by some persons of credit and interest with him so as it might be managed with inviolable secrecy, and very prudently, methinks it might be compassed. And it would certeynly be a

<sup>1</sup> This letter is the same in wording as the second part of that of Sir Edward Nicholas to 'Mr. Jones' (Hartgill Baron) 1/11 Oct. 1659, in Flanders correspondence (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 235). From this letter it is possible to decipher the numbers in the letter to Lady Mordaunt. L. is Lambert, whose cipher number is 824, 244 is the King, 505 the Kingdom, 765 Lord Mordaunt. The letter is unsigned.

very great happinesse not only to the 244 and 505, but to 824 and all his family. I have not, I assure you said a word of this fanciery to any living, and I pray communicate it to none, but only to 765, and let me know his and your opinions of it, and whether his lordship conceives such a business practicable and probable to be effected.

### 119. Sir John Grenville to the King.

1 Nov. 1659.—May it please your Majestie, I had the honor to receive your most gracious letter of the 14 instant by the conveyance of my Lord Mordaunt, for which I render your Majestie most humble thanks, and am most highly sensible of those great and extraordinary favours therein expressed, far beyond my merit, in return of those small services of mine which were not worthy your taking notice of, and as far short of my good intentions, towards your service, as of the dutie and obligations which I doe and shall ever owe unto your most sacred Majestie assuring your Majestie that I shall make it the business of my whole life to serve you with all imaginable integritie, faithfullness, and obedience; as becometh a loyall subject, and your Majesties most dutifull and most obedient servant.

Though I have not presumed to addresse my self of late imediately to your Majestie, yet I have not failed on all occasions according to my dutie, to give your Majestie a true accompt of the state of your affaires within my knowledge from time to time, by the hands of the lord chancellor, Lord Mordaunt, or Mr. Rumbold, which I doubt not, has been represented accordingly from these honorable and worthy persons.

I shall not fail in obedience to your Majesties commands to observe all such instructions as I shall receive from Lord Mordaunt whom I must needs say I have found throughout his whole transactions of your affaires, where I had the honor to be an eye witness in part, to be a person of so much honor, prudence and integrity towards your service, and so entirely devoted to the same, without the least consideration had of his life and fortunes, which he hath so frankly exposed on all occasions for your Majesties service, that he hath by so many meritorious actions justly rendred himself (not withstanding some unjust calumnys and misinformation, which comonly attend all eminent persons in the like case) most worthy to be truly honored and imitated by all good men, and to receive from your Majestie those rewards and encouragements which are joyntly due to so much honor and virtue. And though I am sure it is very needlesse, especially from so rude and unworthy a pen to give any testimony concerning so honourable a person, to your Majestie who are the best judge of all mens actions, yet I thought fit to discharge my dutie herein for which I humbly crave your Majesties pardon, not having spoken any thing out of partiality and friendship of that honourable person with whom I had little acquaintance till very lately but merely for truths sake, and in order to your service.

For Monck, I have formerly given your Majestie an account by Lord Mordaunt and Mr. Rumbold,<sup>1</sup> and likewise of the messenger, Monck's brother, whom I sent to

<sup>1</sup> In a letter of 2 Dec. 1659 to Hyde, Sir John Grenville alluded to his having reported to Mordaunt and Rumbold on the mission of Nicholas Monck to General Monck in Scotland, of which Hyde had still no news on 18/28 Nov. (C.S.P., iii. 618, and *Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 450).

him into Scotland, and of his returne and successe according to the commission your Majestie gave Lord Bellasis and my self, which we shall still endeavour to promote, and if possible to invite him to his loyalty and dutie to your Majestie. If not, we humbly conceive it very considerable for your service to use our best endeavours to keep Monck from agreeing with the English army, suffering him to declare after his own manner and way, presuming that he will be necessitated in case the breach contynue amongst them, to take in the interest of Scotland at last for his own preservation; whereof there is now more hopes than ever, as my Lord Mordaunt will more particularly inform your Majestie both concerning this and all other things relating to your service, and to the expresse you will receive herewith from Mr. Rumbold, which will I hope give your Majestie much satisfaction. And who is a very industrious and worthy person, and dayly employed in the prosecution of your affaires, with all diligence and devotion according to his accustomed care.

Your Majestie will receive here enclosed a letter from Lord Bellasis, with whom, and with divers others, both your old and new friends, I have frequent communication, and do give them all the encouragement I can, for the advancement of your service, which I shall endeavour to promote by all wayes and meanes possible for me: more particularly I am desired by Lord Chesterfield, Lord Middlesex,<sup>1</sup> Lord St. John and Mr. Howe, who are now all in this town, with many other considerable persons of the same good affection, to present their most humble service and dutie to your Majestie expressing much readinesse and all willingness to your service upon all occasions. And will not faile (as they have given me commission to assure your Majestie in their behalfe) to sacrifice both their lives and fortunes in your service, for your Majesties most happy establishment whensoever your Majestie shall please to command them. And the like account I am to give your Majestie from your old servants in the west, from whom you will more particularly heare ere long.

I shall only adde to your trouble at present that I dayly finde and doe looke on the same as a good omen that most persons formerly very averse to your Majestie doe now grow more and more ashamed of their errors and rebellion, and desire to make their peace, so that there is scarce a day which doth not now produce a new convert to your Majestie. Hoping all things will concur towards a speedy settlement and restoration of your Majestie, which I doe most heartily and passionately pray for, and shall alwayes contribute my utmost endeavours to expresse myself your Majesties most humble and most faithfull and most obedient subject and servant, John Grenville.

## 120. The King to Sir Arnold Breames.<sup>2</sup>

23 Oct./3 Nov. 1659.—Having received information of your interest with Vice-

<sup>1</sup> *Lionel Cranfield*, 3rd earl of *Middlesex* (d. 1674), 2nd son of Lionel Cranfield, 1st earl of *Middlesex* and brother of James Cranfield, the 2nd earl. He was drawn into supporting the rising of 1659 by Sir John Grenville (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 275). He rose, was arrested in Lincolnshire, but released 19 Aug. 1659 on security (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, pp. 75, 127). *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> *Sir Arnold Breames* of Bridge Court, Kent, son of Charles Breames of Dover. In Jan. and Feb. 1659–60 he was still engaged in trying to win Vice-admiral Lawson over to the King (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv 533, 550, 565).

admirall Lawson,<sup>1</sup> and being very well assured of your fidelity to me, I choose by trusting you in a matter of this concern, to satisfie you of my esteeme and kindnesse. Upon the receipt of this I desire you to repaire to him, and to see what he would propose for a reward for a signall service you may manage it so, as the offer may proceed from him, which if you succeed in, you may assure yourself I will refuse him nothing reasonable; and that I will looke on the service you performe, as an undeniable testimony of your zeale and inclination to your affectionate friend, Charles R.

### 121. Lord Mordaunt to the King.

2 Nov. 1659.—May it please your Majestie, I am convinced my own soule would condemne me of the highest villanie imaginable, did I not counsell your speedy returne. And Sir, I know no termes perswasive enough to use upon this exigence. I shall therefore humbly and playnly represent unto your Majestie that as our duties are indispensible to your Majestie and nothing can absolve us from an entire obedience and submission to all your commands; our very lives and fortunes, depending on you, soe Sir, your Majestie is accountable to God on our behalf. And that sacred character distinguishes you from us, was given you for our protection. You are Sir, our common father, your countreys father, and should your Majestie see but a private parent environed with a numerous progeny all drowned in teares and kneeling round him for refuge, against some visible violence, should he refuse their protection; your Majestie would say, he wanted tendernesse for them, and no fault of theirs though formerly disobedient, could justifie him to God, should he abandon them.

This Sir, with reverence to your Majestie would be the least that would be said of you, should your Majestie either stop your ears to our cries, or convey your self from them; But Sir, as your Majestie has ever shewed your self ready to expose your self to all hazzards for us, so we cannot question, when your Majestie knows our condition, your bowells will yearne upon us, who are by a common tye your subjects, your servants and your children.

All things seems to conspire your restoration, and the most averse to your returne, act in order to it, the occasion never being so faire, the warre begun in the North, we doubt not but your Majestie in your great wisdom will lay hold on the occasion, and with some body of men, countenance our first appearance.

I have had Sir such wondrous successe in your Majesties affaires, that I must attribute it wholly to God from whom it immediately proceeds, and I doubt not by his blessing, but in few dayes I shall have soe firmly settled our counsell and correspondencies, that I may be dismissed to repaire to your Majestie and then not to leave you till I see the crown on your Majesties head; and you Sir the most happy and glorious Prince this nation was ever blessed with. I am, Sir, your Majesties most humble most dutifull and obedient subject and servant, Mordaunt.

Mr. Rumbolds remarkable industry and diligence I cannot but take notice of againe to your Majestie.

<sup>1</sup> *Vice-admiral Sir John Lawson*, anabaptist and republican, was dismissed from his command in 1657, but restored in May 1659 by the parliament, and appointed vice-admiral of the fleet in the narrow seas. On 13 Dec. he declared for the restoration of the parliament. *D.N.B.*

The weakness of my sight will procure my pardon from your Majestie that this is not my own hand.

122. — to the King, 3 Nov. 1659.

[This letter is the first part of number 88. It ends with the words 'perhaps occasioned their ruin'.]

123. Nicholas Armorer to Lady Mordaunt.

*Bordeaux*, 25 Oct./4 Nov. 1659.—Madame, All<sup>1</sup> the account I can give your ladyship from this place is that I am certainly informed that the King is at present at Fontarabia. He has been in Spaine but not at Madrid. I have seen a letter here from Bayon that 28 of the last month his Majestie<sup>2</sup> was there at Font Arabia, and in these very words received by Don Lewis de Haro, as if the King of Spaine had been there himself. This is all I am like to know till I have been upon the place where I hope to be upon Thursday at noone. I got so neare this towne last night that I came in at ports opening, and found the courier at Byon ready to depart, who goes within 8 leagues of Fount Arabia, by him I goe from hence; I have only heard that Hartgill passed this way, which is all, but whether he found the King I know not, for it's 15 dayes since he past this place, and then I doe not heare that even Sir Henry Bennet<sup>3</sup> could well direct him; but I am confident ere now he is with him, and that I shall meet him by the post of this night; or els find him there, and then I am sure one of us will not be long from you.

I should have writt to Collonel Newgent<sup>4</sup> this day, but I must loose my occasion of going if I doe. Pray, Madame be pleased to send to let him know if he receives no orders from the duke of Yorke, then he has no other thing to doe but keep his friends right, and to strengthen them as much as may be, untill such time as he have orders from the person most concerned, which he will have with all imaginable speede: besides I shall desire your lordship to tell him I saw my Lord Gerrard at Paris, as I passed, who told me of his designe.<sup>5</sup> And I think his lordship had designe in telling

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Armorer arrived at Bordeaux on 24 Oct./3 Nov., on his way to the King with despatches from Mordaunt (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 420). Armorer arrived at Fuentarabia on 27 Oct./6 Nov. (*The Nicholas papers*, iv. 188).

<sup>2</sup> Charles II was received by Don Lewis de Haro in Fuentarabia on 18/28 Oct. (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 263).

<sup>3</sup> *Sir Henry Bennet* (1618–85), 1st earl of Arlington, royalist and secretary of state; 2nd son of Sir John Bennet of Arlington, Middlesex; fought for the King in the first civil war; in exile secretary to the duke of York; March 1657 sent as the King's agent to the court of Madrid (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 264); 15 July 1659 arrived at St. Sebastians for the negotiations for the peace of the Pyrenees (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 280); Nov. 1659 after the peace was signed returned to Madrid; Oct. 1662–74 secretary of state; 1672 created earl of Arlington. *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> The King asked Armorer to write to 'his friend', that is Colonel Nugent, to hold up the business of an attempt on Dunkirk till the King returned to Flanders (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 431, 3/13 Nov. 1659, Armorer to Hyde).

<sup>5</sup> Lord Gerard was also engaged on a scheme to win over the garrison of Dunkirk for the King. Charles II told Armorer he would write to Gerard to stop him from acting in the matter (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 431).

me soe, to trye if I knew any other : I tould him my opinion and withall desired him beware of having too many irons in the fire of that kinde, but I tould him nothing who they were only I told him a more hopefull way might be found as I did believe ; he swears he will never act in it but as the King commands, and then I am sure it will be well enough.

Mr. Booth will send anything from your ladyship to Collonel Nugent. Your child<sup>1</sup> it seems had a letter from Collonel Whitley to my Lord Gerrard and there was an other letter came (from whom I know not) but the collonells was to be delivered, and was, so soone as ever he came, which had a great deale of more news then I brought, and too, before I saw the Queene, and some I wish I had known before I left Callais, but tis no great matter now ; I believe for ought I found there your child will wish himself back with his good lady mother,<sup>2</sup> and endure all small stormes of the little Welchwoman,<sup>3</sup> rather then some great ones will fall at Paris, if matters be not made even, as I doe not finde the least hopes they will. I long to heare from your ladyship what is become of my lord. God preserve you both. Your ladyships most obedient servant, Ni: Armorer.

#### 124. Lady Mordaunt to Lord Mordaunt.

*Calais, 25 Oct./4 Nov. 1659.*—I am mightily troubled that I heare nothing from you. God of his mercy blesse and keep you. This inclosed<sup>4</sup> is from 848, 492. I have not tyme, this boat going away on a sudden, to put it in cipher. Pray will you write very discreetly to Monsieur Schomberg, and give him an account of all businesse and how the state of government stands. And all you addresse to Marshal Turaine let it be by him, for he is an other kinde of person then Sir H.<sup>5</sup> though he be very honest, and you must write to him and seeme to relye as much as you did.

To Monsieur Schomberg make use alwayes of the secretaries cypher, for I have sent it you, and I have spoken with him since, and finde you may make what interest you please with Marshal Turaine by his means if you be discreet. For if that be true the Queen writes of the 37<sup>6</sup> having no full power, it remains with you ; But Lord

<sup>1</sup> This is a reference to Lord Mordaunt.

<sup>2</sup> *Elizabeth, dowager countess of Peterborough* (d. 1671), was the daughter and sole heiress of William lord Howard of Effingham. She married John Mordaunt, 1st earl of Peterborough, and had three children, Henry, 2nd earl of Peterborough, John Lord Mordaunt and Elizabeth, who married Thomas Howard, 2nd Lord Howard of Esrick. *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> The reference is to the mother-in-law of John Lord Mordaunt. This was Margaret, the widowed Lady Herbert. She was the daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Smith, married Thomas Carey, 2nd son of Robert 1st earl of Monmouth, by whom she had two daughters, Philadelphia, who married Sir Henry Lyttleton, and Elizabeth, who married Lord Mordaunt. After the death of Thomas Carey in 1648 she married Sir Edward Herbert, attorney-general to Charles I and keeper of the great seal to Charles II ; he died in 1657. Lord Mordaunt had considerable difficulties in his relations both with his mother and his mother-in-law, this is the meaning of the allusion.

<sup>4</sup> The letter enclosed was probably Carte MSS., vol. xxx, fo. 492, 26 Oct./5 Nov. 1659, the duke of York to Lord Mordaunt ; it is printed in Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 259-61 ; there is a draft of it by Hyde in Clarendon MSS., vol. lxvi, fos. 34-5.

<sup>5</sup> Sir Herbert Lunsford.

<sup>6</sup> 37 is probably the Sealed Knot, but the key to the cipher used by Lady Mordaunt to her husband has not been found.

Berkley<sup>1</sup> writt the last weeke, word to H: B: that 37 had full power from the King to act in his absence, which letter I keep, and so I doe all, for at your returne I hope to give you a good account of all that passes through my hands, for I have some reason to doe it, for tis verie much to see how the strangers trust me.

3<sup>2</sup> promises to get under Marshal Turraines hand, what assurances I will, you, and his advice to you is that if you finde things draw out in length, that you then take a full account of all is to be done, and how all things stand in England, and then for you to come here againe, and he will order it so as to have Turraine meet you and him and so settle business, but if you find business like to breake forth suddenly, then to stay and send constant accounts to Turaine ; but send not by Mr. Thomas, that 534<sup>3</sup> addrest you to, not that I know any thing to his prejudice.

We cannot hope for H. B.<sup>4</sup> his returne this 3 weeks, therefore you had need get assistance to undertake a busnesse and you may be sure if Turaine undertakes it, with Gods blessing it may succeed, therefore neglect not so faire an opportunity, put into your hands, of doing your busnesse wisely, which I have not been a little sollisitous in. Be wise in your letters and if you come, he advised you to bring or send your trust from the King, for Turaine to see, which will be very necessary.

I hope I have hindred 492, 460,<sup>5</sup> from doing harm, pray have my gallants<sup>6</sup> advice for I rely much on that.

God send you read this well for I have faine to write in great hast.<sup>7</sup>

### 125. The duke of York to Lord Mordaunt.

26 Oct./5 Nov. 1659.—I<sup>8</sup> have received yours of the 27th of October<sup>9</sup> by your kinsman,<sup>10</sup> and for what concerns the busnesse, I send you the answer here in cipher,

<sup>1</sup> John Berkeley, 1st Baron Berkeley of Stratton (d. 1678), royalist ; youngest son of Sir Maurice Berkeley of Bruton, Somerset ; 1638 knighted ; Nov. 1640 M.P. for Heytesbury ; fought for the King in the west in the first civil war, 1647 with Charles I in his flight to the Isle of Wight ; governor to the duke of York, 1652–55 served under Turenne as a volunteer, and with the duke of York in 1656 joined the Spanish army in Flanders ; 19 May 1658 created Baron Berkeley of Stratton. *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> General Schomberg wrote to Marshal Turenne on 26 Oct./5 Nov. 1659 asking him to send to Lady Mordaunt a letter expressing his offer to assist the King's cause (de Grimoard, *Collection des lettres et mémoires du maréchal de Turenne* (1782), i, 313).

<sup>3</sup> Probably 534 is Sir Herbert Lunsford, who in his letter to Lady Mordaunt of 19/29 Oct. 1659 (*supra*, no. 111) advised her to communicate with Lieutenant-colonel Thomas Howard, probably the person designated here as 'Mr. Thomas'.

<sup>4</sup> Hartgill Baron.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the cipher refers to the duke of York.

<sup>6</sup> Probably a reference to General Schomberg.

<sup>7</sup> Unsigned.

<sup>8</sup> This is evidently the covering letter to that of the duke of York to Lord Mordaunt of 26 Oct./5 Nov. 1659, printed in Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 259–61. Clarendon MSS., vol. lxvi, fos. 34–5. 26 Oct./5 Nov. Draft by Hyde.

<sup>9</sup> Mordaunt evidently wrote to the duke of York as to Hyde on 17/27 Oct. 1659, on the eve of his return to England (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 414).

<sup>10</sup> Charles Lyttleton brought Mordaunt's letter to Hyde of 27 Oct. 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 419) and probably his letter of the same date to the duke of York. The duke sent back his reply to Mordaunt by Charles Lyttleton (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 259). Charles Lyttleton's elder

so that there only remains for me to let you know the sence I have, both of what you have already done, and are now about for our family, and for my own part, you shall find that I shall not be the last to acknowledge them. God prosper your undertakings, and all that goe the same way, and send that I may once venture my life with you on your side of the water, which you shall alwayes find me ready to doe, being alwayes very willing to venture my life for his service whose subjects we are, and for the returning of our cuntry to its wonted peace, and delivering it from the distractions it is now in. This is all I have to say.

Referring you to the enclosed in cipher this 5 of November 1659. James.

#### 126. Sir Edward Nicholas to Lord Mordaunt.

5/15 Nov. 1659.—I<sup>1</sup> have received your lordships without a date from 571,<sup>2</sup> which was most welcome bringing me the good newes of your being safe arrived there. I assure your lordship all here have a singular esteeme of your lordship for your eminent industry in his Majesties service, and are exceeding well satisfied that upon the invitation you had, you so readily repaired into England. We heare<sup>3</sup> your presence there doth undoubtedly keep up the spirits of his Majesties friends, who may doe well to make what preparations they can privatly, and without noise. But it's by the D: Y:<sup>4</sup> and all your friends here thought very unfitt for any of the Kings partie to engage, or to act any thing more, then to keep themselves in readinesse, least it give such jealousie to the now divided parties among the rebels, as to make them unite, but when they shall be in blood, one against an other, or that one side shall declare for the King, and invite his majesties friends to joine with them, then its thought to be seasonable for his Majesties friends to appeare as strong as they can, but till then, or that there shall be some forraigne forces that may assist his Majesties friends, it's conceived it may exceedingly prejudice his Majesties service, for any of them to engage.

I have seen what D: Y: writes to your lordship by this bearer, and what H: Ld: C:<sup>5</sup> hath now written to R: W: of this effect, and am fully of the same sence with them, and wish your lordship would advise therein with R: W:.<sup>6</sup>

We shall use our best endeavours to induce his Majestie to returne nearer the sea parts with all convenient speed, and doubt not but his Majestie in his wisdome, will of himself find it necessary for him so to doe, as soon as he can possibly finish his negotiation where he is.

I shall in my next let his Majestie understand the contents of your lordships

brother, Sir Henry Lyttleton, married Philadelphia Carey, daughter of Thomas Carey, and sister to Lady Mordaunt (Reilly, *Historical anecdotes*, p. 34)

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, pp. 261–2, 5/15 Nov. 1659. Secretary Nicholas to Lord Mordaunt (Flanders S.P. 77, 32, part 2, fo. 329, partly shorthand, endorsed 'copy of myne to Ld Mordaunt, sent by an express by Col. Ch. Nichols'.

<sup>2</sup> 'London' in the copy by Nicholas.

<sup>3</sup> 'Where' in the copy by Nicholas.

<sup>4</sup> 'Duke of York' in the copy by Nicholas.

<sup>5</sup> 'Ld. Ch.' in the copy by Nicholas, the 'lord chancellor' who wrote to William Rumbold on 5/15 Nov. 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv, 437, in part in *C.S.P.*, iii, 605–6).

<sup>6</sup> 'R. W.' is 'Mr Rumbold' in the copy by Nicholas.



to me. The King was to be at Fauntarabia the 28th<sup>1</sup> of October, Ormonde being called thither before to advertize Don Lewis de Haro of his Majesties coming, who prepared to receive him after the same manner, as if the King of Spaine himself were there in person.<sup>2</sup>

The treaty between the two great ministers was not to end till the third<sup>3</sup> of this month, what you may expect from hence, you will understand by D: Ys: letter sent hence by Charles.<sup>4</sup> I assure you both the dukes professe to be extreemly glad, that your lordship went so readily for England being very confident that your presence will keep up the spirits of his Majesties friends there.

I have not heard anything of H: B: <sup>5</sup> since he went from Paris, I feare I have wearied you, and shall therefore adde no more but that I am unalterably your most humble servant, Ed. Nicholas.

### 127. Lord Mordaunt to the King.

5 Nov. 1659.—I presumed in my last but one <sup>6</sup> to give your Majestie intimation of a close correspondence between some of the presbyterian lords and Monck, since I have made out my observation plaine, and find the best wee can hope for from their conclusion will be the articles of the Isle of Wight, and the parliament of 48, and those I doubt not will restore you, but not so restore you, as your faithfull servants desire. For Sir tis a great and glorious prince we hope to see you, not what they please to make you, having the militia in their hands.

This project is managed by Mr. Pierrepont,<sup>7</sup> and St. John, but those appeare in it are the earles of Northumberland,<sup>8</sup> Bedford,<sup>9</sup> Clare,<sup>10</sup> Manchester. These endeavour

<sup>1</sup> Charles II was received at Fuentarabia by Don Luis de Haro on 18/28 Oct. 1659 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 263).

<sup>2</sup> On the King's reception, see Carte, *Ormonde*, iii. 686.

<sup>3</sup> The peace of the Pyrenees was signed on 28 Oct /7 Nov. 1659.

<sup>4</sup> In the copy by Nicholas, the sentence runs, 'You will understand by the Duke of York's letter sent thence by Ch. Littleton what you may expect from hence'.

<sup>5</sup> 'Hart. Baron' in the copy by Nicholas.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra*, no. 114, 31 Oct 1659, Mordaunt to the King.

<sup>7</sup> William Pierrepont (1607?–78), parliamentary; 2nd son of Robert Pierrepont, 1st earl of Kingston; M.P. for Great Wenlock Nov. 1640; secluded 1648; M.P. for Notts 1654, 1656, member of the Other House 1658; friend of Thurloe and St. John (Burton, *Diary*, edited Rutt (1828), iv. 274); 23 Feb. 1659–60 member of council of state (*C.J.*, vii. 849), *D.N.B.* and Wood, *Nottinghamshire in the civil war* (1937). The 'project' was the scheme to restore the King but on the terms of the Treaty of Newport.

<sup>8</sup> Algernon Percy, 10th earl of Northumberland (1602–68), parliamentary; eldest son of Henry, the 9th earl, 1638 lord high admiral but June 1642 dismissed; supported the parliament till 1648, thenceforward in retirement, refused to sit in the Other House. *D.N.B.*

<sup>9</sup> William Russell, 5th earl and 1st duke of Bedford (1613–1700), 2nd but eldest surviving son of Francis, the 4th earl, M.P. for Tavistock Nov. 1640; 1641 succeeded his father as earl of Bedford; supported the parliament and the King in turn in the first civil war, but after 1644 abstained from politics. *D.N.B.*

<sup>10</sup> John Holles, 2nd earl of Clare (1596–1666), eldest son of John Holles, the 1st earl, whom he succeeded in 1637; supported the parliament and the King in turn till 1644, afterwards abstained from politics. *D.N.B.*, and *Memorials of the Holles family*, by Gervase Holles, edited Wood, *R. Hist. S.*, Camden series, vol. 55 (1937), p. 191.

to close with my Lords Hartford and Lindsey,<sup>1</sup> that some of your Majesties partie may seem to approve of it : your Majestie will best judge of the inconveniences and advantages of such a caball, so that having againe reminded your Majestie of it, I have performed my dutie.

Sir, this evening I was advertized by Major Harlow and Mr. Pim,<sup>2</sup> that if your Majestie pleases to condescend so much as to encourage H: Cromwell in your service, he will readily undertake it, and proposes one of these wayes to do something considerable ; upon some conferences with Fleetwood, he believes if your Majestie please to permitt him, that he may be sent over into Ireland commander in chiefe, he shall merit his pardon from your Majestie by friendly exposing himself in your Majesties quarell, He desires a letter from your Majestie to Collonel Ingoldsby that was governour of Limerick,<sup>3</sup> and that your Majestie will please to graunt him his estate, or an equall one in exchange ; if this should faile, he proposes Portsmouth, and I confesse I believe he would carry it, for he may easily unite his brothers, Colonel Porters, and his own interest, which is in a particular troop there, so that they may be all usefull to his designe, and it is a place of such importance, that before I knew of this I had myne eye upon it, and have made one, commands a foot company there, soe firme to your Majesties service, that every third night he can secure them a gate ; I humbly refer this to your Majesties consideration.

I have dispatched one to Lamberts army and am endeavouring to fix on a fitt person to send to Monck's, that at least we may be truly informed of all matters of fact.

Yesterday the debates were so high in the common councell, that Fleetwood condescended that the Anabaptists should withdraw from the gates <sup>4</sup> and the redcoats should keep them, and if any difference were begun by a souldier, Fleetwood should decide it, if by a citizen the mayor : here is a rumour spread of Moncks inclining to treat, I know not what to say to it.<sup>5</sup>

### 128. Lord Mordaunt to the King.

8 Nov. 1659.—Sir, The common observation is, few love those they have injured,

<sup>1</sup> *Montague Bertie, 2nd earl of Lindsey* (1608?–66), royalist ; eldest son of the 1st earl of Lindsey, fought in the first civil war for the King and was one of his commissioners in the negotiations for the Isle of Wight treaty. He was one of the four noblemen who attended the burial of Charles I (Clarendon, *Hist.*, xi. 244). April 1661 Knight of the Garter. Died 1666. *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> *Sir Charles Pym*, parliamentarian, son of John Pym, served in the parliamentarian army in the civil war ; was created a baronet by Richard Cromwell and the title was confirmed by Charles II in 1663. He was M.P. for Minehead in the Convention parliament.

<sup>3</sup> *Colonel Sir Henry Ingoldsby*, brother of Sir Richard Ingoldsby the regicide, son-in-law to Sir Hardress Waller ; 1653–59 he was governor of Limerick (Firth, *Regimental history*, ii. 447, 623–4), was created a baronet by Cromwell (*ibid.*, ii. 645) ; July 1659 escaped to France (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 19) ; 28 Dec. 1659 he was thanked by the restored parliament for securing Windsor Castle (*C.f.*, vii. 798).

<sup>4</sup> On 9/19 Nov. 1659 the common council of the city of London according to the report of Bordeaux, passed a resolution that 'those sectaries against whom the people are greatly enraged shall no longer be employed to guard the town (Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, ii. 285). On Fleetwood's relations with the common council see the report of the Venetian resident Francesco Giavarina (*Cal. S.P. Venetian*, 1659–61 (1931), p. 92).

<sup>5</sup> Unsigned.

from hence may be concluded the extream longing after your Majesties restoration, proceeds from those could not prejudice you ; the ordinary gentry and the people. These are so disposed to serve you, that 'tis impossible to expresse their eagernes at this time. But Sir, as there scarce can be any thing without exception, so repentance though late may be reall and some mislead persons may become guides to others who without their conduct would stray.

Believing it my dutie to represent the state of affaires as truly and really they are, I cannot consent to palliate apparent faults, and therefore whatsoever your Majestie finds may seeme severe, in the sence I here present you will yet prove usefull, that mistrusting your majestie may the better secure your self.

The people of quality that have great fortunes have forgot their duty so long, that I feare they may resemble those we send from hence very yong to travell, who when they returne forget to take their parents blessing. So, Sir, we have lost one part of our reverence by tract of time, to this wee are so used to comply, that he that does not is counted a foole, and the interest of fortune prevailing over our courage and duty, we grow meaner and meaner as the taxes rise ; and as we decline both in fortune and spirit, the increase of the first gives our enemyes an addition of the other.

Sir, your Majestie has yet some weeks to push for your establishment on good terms, if they elapse, I feare an Anabaptist militia will so awe the countrey, that none of your friends will be able to rise. Sir, in this great consternation, if any bold attempt could be wisely managed, I should not feare successe ; but these people must have some rise from beyond sea, being foiled last yeare.

When your Majestie returns into France, you will find I have made my duty my businesse, and that I am and ever will be ready every way to promote your Majesties right as becomes the allegiance of, Sir, your Majesties most loyall subject and obedient servant, Mordaunt.

### 129. Lord Mordaunt to Richard Nicholls.

9 Nov. 1659.—Mr. N.; I<sup>1</sup> should not have believed you could have taken my prudence ill, had I not received your letter ; and I extreamly wonder, though you dealt clearly with me in your businesse, why you should expect, a person whom his Majestie trusts in his affaires, should discover all he knew to you, or any without the King's command.

If you please to recolect your self, you told me Collonel Nugent<sup>2</sup> had communicated all his business to you, upon which I resolved he should continue the same frankness to you still, but upon discourse with him, I found he had reserved the most essential part of it to himself, and resolved to keep it secret, this occasioned my directing him to keep it so still, not understanding at all the use of your knowing it ; and indeed in my opinion, his Majesties businesse was not necessary to be known to Monsieur de La Val:<sup>3</sup> of whom I have enquired very particularly, and with whom you chiefly corresponded.

<sup>1</sup> 'Mr N.' is Mr. Richard Nicolls (*supra*, no. 15, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Nugent was engaged with Sir Herbert Lunsford in the scheme to win over to the King the garrison of Dunkirk (*supra*, no. 92).

<sup>3</sup> *Thomas de la Val* was a merchant of Dunkirk in 1658, and held the office of collector of customs there (Thurloe, *S.P.*, vii. 305, 308, 701, 732 ; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, pp. 214, 245).

I have now given you the reasons you say you seek not after and hope your desisting in it will not prejudice the matter. Had any instruction come from the D: of York<sup>1</sup> to me I should readily have obeyed them, but his Majestie was long since acquainted with this designe, and disaproved it not, so that I was in obedience to him to carry it with as great secrecy as I could. When you see the King you will receive further satisfaction in it, and that I have done as became his servant and subject, and this I desire you to believe from, Sir, your most humble servant, Mordaunt.

### 130. The King to Lord Mordaunt.

*Fuentarabia*, 3/13 Nov. 1659.—The account you have given me of the good affection of C. I.<sup>2</sup> and some other officers to me and my services was much to my satisfaction. For there can no circumstances contribute more to my restitution, in which I shall take more delight, then in the voluntary and seasonable conversation of such as have been mislead to act against me. You may therefore assure these gentlemen in my name, that I shall not only make good what you have undertaken to them, but on all occasions improve them as well to reward their merit, as to encourage others to follow their good example. For your self I shall not tell you now how well I am satisfied, and how much I think my self behoulding to you for your carriage in this last businesse. I will referre that untill I see you, only I must conjure you to have a care of your person, and not hazzard it unnecessarily. I have given this charge unto your wife who I believe will not be sorry for the commission. I am your very affectionate friend, Charles R.

### 131. The marquis of Ormonde to Lord Mordaunt.

[*Fuentarabia*, 3/13 Nov. 1659.—Has<sup>3</sup> received his of Oct. 28,<sup>4</sup> previous day, is sending this answer to Lady Mordaunt for transmission to Mordaunt. The King will leave for Flanders in three days, and will there be ready to make use of a favourable opportunity to go to England. Writer has waited on the Cardinal,<sup>5</sup> and was well received. But impossible to know his policy towards the King. Yet expectations of success abroad are well founded. The conclusion of the treaty here really

<sup>1</sup> The duke of York had given instructions to Richard Nicolls for the securing of Dunkirk, 8/18 Nov. 1659 (*The Nicholas papers*, iv (1930), 189–90).

<sup>2</sup> See *supra*, no. 56 for the proposals made by Colonel Richard Ingoldsby to Mordaunt and sent by him to the King.

<sup>3</sup> The letter so far is printed in full in Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 262–3, but the Mordaunt MS. at the end gives the following additional paragraph :—‘ Unless I be exceedingly deceived myself, I shall never be the instrument of deceiving you or any other worthy person ; that like you manifest their zeale and honour, with soe much industry and hazzard ; and this opinion I shall beseech you to continue of me, and procure to me from those you converse with and so I shall still be fit to be, as really I am, My Lord, your most faithfull humble servant, Ormonde.’

<sup>4</sup> Lord Mordaunt’s letter to Ormonde of 28 Oct. 1659 is printed in Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 238–40.

<sup>5</sup> The conference between Ormonde and Cardinal Mazarin took place on 2/12 Nov. 1659 (Carte, *Ormonde*, iii. 688).

begins the negotiations for the King. Could speak more plainly if able to use Mordaunt's cipher.]

### 132. The marquis of Ormonde to Lady Mordaunt.

3/13 Nov. 1659.—Madame, I am not able to answer to myself that you have been thus long on this side the sea upon the accompt you are, without having received this kinde of marke of my humble respects, and assurance of my service whenever you shall oblige me, in commanding me, or when without that direction I shall be so happie as to finde the way.

You will be pleased Madame to cause the adjoyned,<sup>1</sup> to my lord your husband, to be sent him when you light upon a safe conveyance, and not before, because it is directed to him and subscribed by me, then which it cannot have a more dangerous quality to the person that shall be the bearer.

The King commands that he be remembered to you with all imaginable kinnesse, and commends it to you from him to conjure your lord to all possible care of his safety, in which, next to you, he saith he is most concerned. I receive and discharge this dutie to my master with great pleasure having many reasons to be, Madame, your most faithfull and obedient servant, Ormonde.

### 133. Sir Henry Bennet to Lord Mordaunt.

*Fuentarabia*, 5/15 Nov. 1659.—My lord, I have in this place received the honour of two letters from your lordship of the 8 and 11 October, both of them obliging me in the remembrance of those respects I have ever vowed to your lordship which if possible ought to be increased by the valed his Majestie professes to make of you ; I am much ashamed it hath not layen in my way to give some evidence of them to Mr. Baron <sup>2</sup> this bearer. But the time and the trouble I have been in, ever since his Majestie arrived here, permitted it not. So as all I owe your lordship is yet entire upon my hands but shall be most faithfully paid on all occasions wherein I can shew myself to be, My lord, your lordships most humble and most obedient servant, Hen. Bennett.

### 134. Sir Herbert <sup>3</sup> Lunsford to Lady Mordaunt.

5/15 Nov. 1659.—Madame, I now finde there is much providence in the idea of our hopefull expectation, since my noble lord assures us of the disunion of those that so long knit themselves together. Moncks first action will contract many more to our languishing desires. This comfort I find in his lordships first of the 24 of October, the last was of the 26,<sup>4</sup> but being in characters, and I having not the key, makes me incapable of the sence, which causeth me to desire the favour of this

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, no. 131.

<sup>2</sup> Hartgill Baron reached Calais on his return with letters from the King and Sir Henry Bennet, on 15/25 Nov. 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 448).

<sup>3</sup> Incorrectly described in the heading to the letter as Sir 'Henry'.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra*, no. 105.

worthy gentleman Captaine Miredith<sup>1</sup> (who is to be trusted both to privacie and celeritie).

I have writt to Mareschall de Turain<sup>2</sup> the full scope of his lordships first of 24 of October and will upon the arrivall of the Captaine wait on him, and reminde him of the worth power and desires of my noble Lord. I can assure your ladyship that his Highness is fully informed of my lords interest, and his affections, and admirations, to, and of his highness, which are well resented, as will in due time by his Highness be demonstrated, to his lordship.

I hope the fleet is not neglected by our friends, being the only obstacles to our designes, for although the hazzard is not considerable, having but a short passage, yet it carries something with it amuses ye prudent and causeth the greater circumspection, whereas celerity and promptitude is to be preferred in cases of this nature.

I shall humble beseech your ladyship to present my dutie to his lordship and to pardon the presumption and importunities of Madame, your most obedient servant, Her: Lunsford.

### 135. Lady Mary Carey to Lady Mordaunt.

15 Nov. 1659.—Dear Madam, The things I<sup>3</sup> dare write are so different from ye things I would say if I were with you, that I have with anger twice or thrice laid by the pen, when I have intended to make this addresse to you; and did I not feare you might take my silence for want of a concerne in your present fortune, I know not whether I should break it now, I am so sure to say nothing to my own satisfaction, except I should think this may give you a greater assurance then you alredy have of my kindnesse by telling you I have been verie sensible of every change has of late been in your condition. And yet since you have scaped the danger, cannot say I am very sorrie you have been in some, for in the age we live, tis not easie to sever suffering from the honour of doing one's dutie; And I know you prefeere that so much before the lazy quiet most here place their happinesse in, that I must defer my wishes, if I should desire you back upon those termes. But as ill as the world is, I will hope to see you upon better, and till then I must beg you will keep some little place in your thoughts for me, that will strive to merit it by being very redy all my life to expresse in my actions this truth of being, your most affectionate cousin and servant, Mary Cary.

### 136. Sir Edward Hyde to Lady Mordaunt.

Brussels, 5/15 Nov. 1659.—Madam, I most humbly thank you for the honour

<sup>1</sup> General Schomberg in his letter to Marshal Turenne of 26 Oct./5 Nov. 1659 refers to Sir Herbert Lunsford as the intermediary between Lady Mordaunt and Turenne (de Grimoard, *Collection des lettres et mémoires du maréchal de Turenne* (1782), i. 313).

<sup>2</sup> A Captain Miles Meredith is mentioned in Firth, *Regimental history*, ii. 565–6, but there is no evidence that he was of the garrison of Dunkirk. There is no mention of a Captain Meredith in the Clarendon State Papers.

<sup>3</sup> *Lady Mary Carey* was the daughter of Henry Carey, 4th Lord Hunsdon, and the cousin of Lady Mordaunt (Reilly, *Historical anecdotes*, p. 33).

you have done me and doe beseech your ladyship to transmitt the enclosed to your best friend, whom I hope God will preserve from all sortes of enemies and that you will long enjoy each other, with a comfortable and a pleasant remembrance of the killing feares, apprehensions and separations you have passed through, and even mastered by an unexampled courage, in which your particular part hath been verie noble and I beseech you continue your goodnesse towards me, as, Madam, your ladyships most obedient servant, Ed. Hyde.

### 137. Sir Edward Hyde to Lord Mordaunt.

*Brussels, 5/15 Nov. 1659.*—Sir, I<sup>1</sup> had last night the honour to receive a packet of letters<sup>2</sup> from you, in which there were one from you to the D: of Y<sup>c</sup>, one to Mr. Secretary, one to Capt: Titus, and one to Massey, the 3 former I have delivered, and will give the other to Massey as soon as he comes, which I expect every day.

I hope you have received at least two letters from me since your arrivall in England, and the D: York writing to you himself which he hath pleased to communicate to me, and the secretary,<sup>3</sup> and Titus having done the like. I have verie little to say, besides that I have this verie day written at large to Mr. Rumbald<sup>4</sup> by the ould excellent conveyance, which is verie fitt to be used, and which is to all purposes the same as if it were to you, yet I cannot but add a word upon what I saw in your former letter to Capt: Titus, to free you from any apprehension that it is possible for us to have anything like a correspondency with any body in England who will trust Sr. R: W:<sup>5</sup> and who will not in such a point entirely resign themselves to the King, who they may easilie know would not loose a person who could serve him so well, upon an impertinent jealousie.

I have taken all the care I can that they may be informed of the Kings pleasure herein by such friends of theirs which are like to have more credit with them then I have, for to themselves I write not a word.

You may be likewise confident, that if we should receive any particular advice or overtures from thence concerning action we would fully communicate it to you before we take any resolution. For the King having put his whole affaire there, unto the conduct of you, and the rest of your friends intrusted by him, I should think my self very faulty, if I kept any such correspondence apart as might be the ground of counsellis might interfere with yours. Neither in truth do any of our professed friends except those who converse with you vouchsafe to transmitt any advice to us, at least that I know; therefore, if you finde by what wee write from hence that we concurr in some of our opinions with those there whose wariness you have had

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon MSS., vol. lxvi, fos. 169-70. 5/15 Nov. Draft by Bulteale with corrections by Hyde.

<sup>2</sup> The letters referred to are those of Mordaunt to the duke of York of 27 Oct (*supra*, no. 109), to Sir Edward Nicholas, undated (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 261), to Captain Titus, 24 Oct. (*supra*, no. 99), to Major-general Massey, 25 Oct. (*supra*, no. 101).

<sup>3</sup> The duke of York wrote to Lord Mordaunt on 5/15 Nov. 1659 (*infra*, no. 138). Sir Edward Nicholas also wrote on the same date to Mordaunt (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 261).

<sup>4</sup> Hyde to Rumbold 5/15 Nov. 1659 (*C.S.P.*, iii. 605-6).

<sup>5</sup> Sir Richard Willis.

reason formerly to be offended at, let not that discredit the opinion, as if it did arise from the communication with the other which it doth not in any degree, but upon all the little sence I have, nothing can keep the two parties who now protest the one against the other, from entering into blood, but an engagement of our friends, before any forraigne force can be transported to their assistance, and I am the more confirmed in this opinion, because I finde all who have been lately over in England, and most conversant with the temper there, concur in it without the least hesitation.

I finde Whitlock<sup>1</sup> adheres to Lambert in this designe, and I know him well enough to be confident he would be glad all were well, that he might enjoy his own estate, but how far he can contribute towards the getting of Lambert, or towards compassing any other good, and which is the way of approaching him, you can better judge by some friends upon the place. I can only say that it is a pitty any thing should be omitted that might draw over Lambert to us.

I think you may reasonably expect that the King will use all possible diligence in expediting this businesse with the two favourites, that he may bring his own person nearer home, which we presse in all our letters from hence, with all the instance we all make, and I believe you will now very speedily heare from him by H: B:<sup>2</sup> who cannot but be upon his returne; I will hasten Titus all I can to Callais, and truly I wish him with you at this instant. I am very heartily and faithfully, Sir, your most affectionate humble servant, Edw. Hide.

### 138. The duke of York to Lord Mordaunt.

[Brussels, 5/15 Nov. 1659.—Acknowledges<sup>3</sup> Mordaunt's letter of 27 Oct. 1659. Hopes he has received the writer's by Charles Lyttleton. Can add little to it, the ministers in Brussels continue the same. Does not think Mordaunt would wish him to come alone. Thinks the King is likely to procure such assistance from France and Spain as may make his restoration easier. If neither Monck nor Lambert develop any affection for the King, it will be best for his friends to remain passive till actual fighting between the two generals begins. A premature rising of the royalist party would unite the disagreeing parties. But if either Lambert or Monck could be won for the King, writer will come speedily. This advice is approved by all the writer's correspondents. Has nothing to add to what is in cipher.]<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bulstrode Whitlocke* (1605–75), parliamentary lawyer, eldest son of Sir James Whitlocke; Nov. 1640 M.P. for Marlow; supported the parliament in the first civil war; 1649 one of three commissioners of the new great seal in 1649 and in 1654, but was deprived of his office in 1655 by Cromwell; 1654 and 1656 M.P. for Bucks; Jan. 1659–60 restored to his office as commissioner of the great seal; he was a member of the committee of safety of twenty-three persons set up by the army 26 Oct. 1659 (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 131); Jan. 16 he surrendered his custody of the great seal and retired to the country (Whitelocke, *Memorials*, p. 694); was not excepted from pardon in 1660. Died 1675. *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> Printed except for the last sentence in *C.S.P.*, iii. 604–5, under date 15 Nov. and also in *Carte, Ormonde papers*, ii. 268–9, again without the last sentence, which runs thus, 'I have nothing to add to what is in cipher, it being all I have to say to you, and there is nothing truer than the last part of this letter'. Clarendon MSS., vol. lxvi, fo. 185, is a draft by Hyde. *Carte MSS.*, vol. xxx, fo. 502; proper names in cipher.

<sup>3</sup> Hartgill Baron.

<sup>4</sup> The only signature is the emblem of the knot.



## 139. Nicholas Armorer to Colonel Nugent.

*Fuentarabia*, 5/15 Nov. 1659.—Sir, I heare<sup>1</sup> by a letter from a friend of mine that Mr.<sup>2</sup> and you have been at Calais since I left it, the same hand sayes, you encourage Mr. E.<sup>3</sup> to believe he shall enjoy his mistris if he can but find conveniency to make his addresses to her; I have both shewed Mr. E. that letter, and have at large given him the accompt how you have proceeded with the ladies friends, which he thanks you for at this distance, and will doe more particularly when you meet.

I have order to tell you he will be quickly at Paris or near to it, he desires to be fully informed in all particulars concerning the yong gentlewomans fortune, and what her friends will doe that may be depended upon, that accordingly he may proceed to the match; if there be any thing in the matter that is pressing, I should think it worth your journey to come and speak with Mr. E. himself provided you order your businesse soe, as it may give no ombrage to the other pretenders who without doubt will be jealous enough of all your actions.

If you cannot order this meeting without suspicion, then I am to tell you that Mr. E. will not be long from 11.<sup>4</sup> 19. 6. 17, 4. 14. 7. and if you cannot come to him there, yet you may come to some place neare and Mr. O.<sup>5</sup> will privatly give you a meeting, and adjust the affaire. If you have had nothing from Mr. Y:<sup>6</sup> about this since I went, make no more noise, but keep all friends as right and as close as may be, and seeme to be discoured in the matter, till you know Mr. E. his own pleasure.

I found at Parris Mr.<sup>7</sup> 11. 5. 25. 14. 18. 5. 6. 7. business was laid as you tould me. But in that there will be care taken, that it shall not interfere with yours. Your kinsman there will be jelous of you, but it must be your care to give him as little cause as may be. If you come not to Parris, pray be sure to let me have a letter from you at large against I come there. Direct it a Monsieur, Mons. Church,<sup>8</sup> Gentilhomme Anglois a Pallais Roiall a Parris; Let this be the cover and mine enclosed. Mr. E. will write to Mr. S.<sup>9</sup> himself, which I will send you in this; I think Mr. E. will part from hence upon Monday next; and some small stop will suddenly be where I told you before. My service to your nephew. I am for ever, Sir, yours.

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Armorer arrived at Fuentarabia 27 Oct. with the first news of the dissolution of the parliament (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 427). He reached Paris on his return journey on 17 Nov. (*ibid.*, iv. 449). This letter deals in veiled language with the design on Dunkirk planned by Colonel Nugent, with General Schomberg.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Schomberg, who was at Calais by Mordaunt's request, in order that he might be able to give news quickly to Marshal Turenne (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 269).

<sup>3</sup> 'Mr. E.' is the King.

<sup>4</sup> The cipher stands for Paris, to which Charles II was planning to return on his way to Brussels.

<sup>5</sup> 'Mr. O.' is probably the marquis of Ormonde, who accompanied the King on his return journey (Carte, *Ormonde*, iii. 690).

<sup>6</sup> 'Mr. Y', possibly the duke of York.

<sup>7</sup> The : . . . probably refers to Lord Gerard, whom Armorer had found in Paris planning a . . . kirk (*supra*, no. 123, and *Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 431).

<sup>8</sup> Percy Church.

<sup>9</sup> 'Mr. S.' may refer to General Schomberg.

Pray say nothing of Mr. E. his moving to anybody, nor you must not speak of Mrs. Dorothy<sup>1</sup> to Mr. S. till you see Mr. E. Mr. Oneale<sup>2</sup> is your servant, and so he is to Mr. Plunkett.<sup>3</sup>

#### 140. The countess of Ormonde to Lady Mordaunt.

16 Nov. 1659.—Cousine, I<sup>4</sup> did a good while since give my Cosin Mordaunt and yourself an account that I had received from each of you the favour of a letter, which I would not willingly should have fallen into other hands, though it conteyned but what I shall alwayes avow, which is a great concernment for you both, and consequently a trouble for any thing may give you disturbance; especially when occasioned by the unkindnesse of such relations<sup>5</sup> as I find it has come from, which cannot but be the more sensible triall to you, though such an occasion of making your value and discretion appear to the world, as nothing can gaine you more friends and higher esteem, then the temper that you have shown has done, which I am sure I need not persuade you to continew, since I know you are too prudent to doe other, or anything but what may tend to peace; knowing how much my Cousine and your self are concernd, in poynt of interest, which for the families sake, now God has blest you with a sonne, it will befitt you to have regard unto, and let the sober consideration of that outweigh other resentments, which the disobligations you have received may I confesse so justly give you, which in such a case it may perhapps be said, is advice easier to be given then taken, which I cannot but acknowledge when finding as I doe in my self so much of the later in your behalf, untill I consider how much your goodness and reason is above mine and from that doe conclude that you can doe all things that befits so excellent a person as you are believed to be by your affectionate Cousin and servant, E. Ormonde.

Cousin, I have never taken notice unto the person nor she to mee of what unkindness has been, though if I had been at London I should have ventured to

<sup>1</sup> 'Mrs. Dorothy' probably means the design on Dunkirk.

<sup>2</sup> *Daniel O'Neill* (1612–64), soldier and royalist, eldest son of Con McNeill McFachartaigh O'Neill; he became a Protestant, served as a soldier abroad and also in England on the King's side till 1649; groom of the bedchamber to Charles II; in 1655 he was arrested in England but escaped (*The Nicholas papers*, II (1892), 211; *Cal. C.S.P.*, III. 20, 21, 36); he accompanied Ormonde to England Jan. 1658 (*Carte, Ormonde*, III. 660) and Charles II to Fuentarabia Oct. 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, IV. 363, 418), and returned with him to Brussels; 1663 postmaster-general. *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> *Mr. Plunket*. His identity is uncertain. There is a Nicholas Plunket mentioned Sept. 1659 as being considered for release on bail (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 185). He is possibly the Nicholas Plunket, mentioned by *Carte (Ormonde*, I. 202, 237) as spokesman of the Irish committee received in council by Charles I Dec. 1640. *Carte* states that he was afterwards knighted by the Pope (*Ormonde*, I. 202).

<sup>4</sup> *Elizabeth countess of Ormonde* (1615–85) was the daughter and heir of Richard earl of Desmond. She married James Butler, marquis and 1st duke of Ormonde in 1629 (*Carte, Ormonde*, I. 13, 17). From 1651 to 1653 she was in England engaged in recovering her lands from sequestration (*Carte, Ormonde*, III. 628–30), and from 1653 to the restoration lived at Dunmare Castle in Ireland (*ibid.*, IV. 633). She was connected with Lady Mordaunt, whose cousin Elizabeth Mary, daughter of Henry Carey, 2nd earl of Monmouth, married William, earl of Desmond.

<sup>5</sup> This is probably a reference to the difficulties experienced by Lady Mordaunt in her relations with her mother-in-law, the dowager countess of Peterborough. References to her severity are found in *The private diary of Elizabeth, viscountess Mordaunt*, privately printed 1856.

reason it with her according to my accustomed freedome and respects to her. I beseech you to present my service to my Cosin Mordaunt and send me word how your little sonne does thrive.

#### 141. Nicholas Armorer to Lady Mordaunt.

*Fuentarabia*, 7/17 Nov. 1659.—Madam, Though I can put nothing here that the bearer<sup>1</sup> will not tell you, yet I dare not let him returne without laying my self at your feet: he will tell you that at this time his Majestie thought it fit, only to returne one of us to my lord, and in regard both that he came first and that his being with my lord might be more usefull then mine, his Majestie has thought it fitt to send him and stay me with him till such time as he arrive at Paris, if nothing fall out to dispatch me to your ladyship sooner, which will I think hardly be, unless caused by somthing may come from you.

His Majestie has commanded me to write to Colonel Nugent,<sup>2</sup> which I send here enclosed, and beg your ladyships care to get Mr. Booth<sup>3</sup> send a safe messenger with it with all speed to him; his Majestie has a minde to speake with him at Paris, but will not command him not knowing how he may be provided for the journey, however I have given him a hint of his Majesties pleasure, and have obliged him if he come, to bring his Majestie your ladyships commands. Pray Madam, if you see him oblige him to be carefull and secret till he comes to the King, and then he will know what to doe.

Hartgill will tell your ladyship that his Majestie has been pleased since my coming here to take me into his service,<sup>4</sup> which, though I have long had the promise, yet I owe the imediate thing to my lord, and your ladyships great kindnesse to me in employing mee hither at this time, which till the last of my breath I will never faile to owne with as much gratitude, as any servant either of you ever did oblige.

Hartgill will tell your ladyship all here expresse great kindnesse unto my lord,<sup>5</sup> and in good faith I doe beleieve it reall; But Madam for all that if my lord aime at any thing in particular, it were not amisse if my lord of Ormonde had a hint of it, who has professed himself his friend, and upon my conscience is so in his heart. Soe swears Sir Hen: Bennet, who the bearer will tell you has been a most usefull servant to his Majestie at this time.

If your ladyship judge me capable of any service in which my lord or your ladyship is concerned, I can promise neither parts, nor power, but whilst I live the constant and faithfull endeavours of, Madam, your most obedient subject and servant, N. A.

#### 142. General Schomberg to Lady Mordaunt.

9/19 Nov. 1659.—Madam,<sup>6</sup> Il est arrive hyer<sup>7</sup> au soir un vessell au Mardick qui

<sup>1</sup> Hartgill Baron.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, no. 139.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Booth at Calais (*supra*, no. 15, n. 5).

<sup>4</sup> Nicholas Armorer was appointed equerry to the King (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 431) on the recommendation of Hyde.

<sup>5</sup> Lord Mordaunt.

<sup>6</sup> The punctuation of this letter has been modernised to render it intelligible, but the spelling has been retained as in the MS. General Schomberg was writing from Paris.

<sup>7</sup> On 10 Sept. 1659 the council of state ordered £10,000 and stores to be sent to the garrison of Dunkirk (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 186).

a apporte quarante mille livres en argent et quelques provisions pour la guarrison. Les lettres qu'ils portient du conseil estoit vieilles de douz jours, mais un envoye de <sup>1</sup> Londres qui en estoit party ce 20 de ce mois, dit un nouvelle a Monsieur Loccart, qui y estoit pour la deuxiesme fois pour s'y embarquer, laquelle l'obliga sur le lieu d'escrire un lettre avec laquelle il a envoye un expres a Bruxelles. Je n'ay pu scavoir que c'estoit. Je suis d'avis apres vous avoir expedie cest expres, d'envoyer un autre avec des lettres au gouverneur de Nuport, pour le prier d'envoyer ma lettre au chancelier. Je croy que le duc est alle se promener a Breda <sup>2</sup> voire la Princesse Royale, mais il me semble que la saison n'est pas propre de ce (se) divertir presentement de ce coste la. Je vous devois donc que non obstant qu'on tienne la chose fort secreta, un des principaux officiers m'a dit, que le mecredy les principaux de la citte s'estoit assemblez dans la grande hall de la citte, qu'au sortir de la, on avoit pris les armes pour un parlement libre. Selon les anciennes coustumes, toutes les boutiques avoient este fermes, que le peuple s'estoit saisy des portes et avenues de la citte lors qu'il partit, on disoit qu'on estoit resolu de faire sortir les troupes de Westminster, et ceux du conseil qui ne ce (se) declareroient pas pour un parlement libre.<sup>3</sup> On croyait que les regiments suivoient Lambert, mais cett article n'est pas assure, mais qu'il estoit arrive des lettres, par les quels on mende que Monck ayant appris que Lambert s'avançoit tousjours pour luy donner plus de peine en fattiguant ses troupes, avoit commence, quoi qu'il fust aussy fort que luy, a remarcher a petites journeis vers l' Escosse, affin en les teignant davantage de Londres, la citte eust plus de liberte a executer ce qu'ils ont commence presentement, qui toute le Angleterre estoit dans une brouillerie et confusion, qu'on ne scavoit qu'en juger. Je ne doutte pas que vostre bons amis n'y agisse et ne ce (se) serve de cette occasion fort utilement, et que vous m'ayez bien tost de ses nouvelles. Je crains seulement qu'il n'y trouve des obstacles dans les gens seulement qui sont ou veulent estre dans l' enterest du Roy, et qui par jalousie le croiseront. C'est le terme mesme dans lequel (lequel il) me parla hyer, celuy qui m'a dit cette nouvelles. Je m'en vay envoyer un express a Monsieur de Turenne <sup>4</sup> pour l'avertir de ses choses, affin qu'il prenne ses mesures. J'espere que le Roy raportera de la cour des ordres siemples qu'on l' assistera de la bonne maniere, si tost que Monsieur de Beaumont arrivera,<sup>5</sup> ou que vous me jugerez c' estre pour vostre service, vous voirei reprendre gayement le chemin de Callais, pour vous y assurer qu'on ne peut pas estre plus veritablement que je le suis, Madame, vostre tres humble et tres obeisant Serviture (serviteur).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *William Geering*, express courier from England, reached Bordeaux on his way to Sir William Lockhart on 25 Oct. 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 420). Lockhart on 30 Oct. went post to Dunkirk from Fuentarabia (*ibid.*, iv. 441), having been summoned back to England by the council of state (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 249).

<sup>2</sup> The duke of York and the duke of Gloucester went to Breda at the beginning of Nov. to see their sister the princess of Orange (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 441).

<sup>3</sup> Schomberg's account of the disturbed state of London and the desire of the citizens for a free parliament, is corroborated by Bordeaux in his letter to Mazarin of 10/20 Nov. 1659 (Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, ii. 285).

<sup>4</sup> Schomberg wrote to Turenne on 15 Nov. 1659 (de Grimoard, *Collection des lettres et mémoires du maréchal de Turenne* (1782), i. 313).

<sup>5</sup> *Monsieur Beaumont* is a pseudonym for Charles II.

<sup>6</sup> The letter is unsigned.

## 143. The earl of Monmouth to Lady Mordaunt.

20 Nov. 1659.—Dear Neece,<sup>1</sup> I am verie sorry that your friends must converse with you at such a distance ; and yet I hope your delinquency (as it is here termed) is not of so high a nature, (yet allow it to be any, and I know not how it could be much higher) but that your friends may without offence enquire after you, desire to know your present condition, and wherein they may be able to serve you, which if it shall at any time lye in my power to doe, I should not deserve the honour of being so nearly allyed to you in bloud as I am, if I did it not with as much zeale, faithfullnesse, and integrity as any man living, since no man hath more reason then, Madam, your most affectionate unkle and humble servant, Monmouth.

What I cannot pay in dayly vizits to your self I will God willing pay to my dear godson and his brother<sup>2</sup> : My service to Mr. Deere<sup>3</sup> by whatsoever other title he be called or dignified.

## 144. Lady Elizabeth Carey to Lady Mordaunt.

20 Nov. 1659.—Deare Madame,<sup>4</sup> It is so little a while since I had the pleasure allowed me of making this addresse to your ladyship, that I have not much to ask pardon for the not doing it sooner ; an indisposition the last week being the occation which made me the last of this family to assure you of the interest I have had in your troubles this somer, which I am sure has been as great as anye's, and I dare almost say above your own concerne for them, for you have a spirit so fit for the great things you have done and suffered, that the pleasure of doing your dutie has I am confident taken from you the trouble you have undergon, so that your friends parts in it must have been greater then your own, since it is impossible we should heare so excellent a person threatened with punishment and death, if fallen into the power of the barbarous people here,<sup>5</sup> without unexpressable fears, which nothing can equall, but the joy I should have to see you according to your merit, rewarded above the reach of your enemies malice and ambition of your friends, of which number none wishes you more fortune and happinesse, then your ladyships most affectionate cosine and humble servant, E. Cary.

145. Sir Herbert<sup>6</sup> Lunsford to Lady Mordaunt.

Abbeville, 12/22 Nov. 1659.—Madame, I am very much afflicted to hear of your indisposition and that I am forced to importune your ladyship.

<sup>1</sup> Henry Carey, 2nd earl of Monmouth (d. 1661). Lady Mordaunt was the daughter of his younger brother Thomas Carey.

<sup>2</sup> The two sons of Lord and Lady Mordaunt, Charles and Henry.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Mordaunt.

<sup>4</sup> Lady Elizabeth Carey was the daughter of Henry Carey, 2nd earl of Monmouth, and cousin to Lady Mordaunt.

<sup>5</sup> After the rising of Sir George Booth, Lady Mordaunt's arrest was ordered and she was searched for, but escaped to France (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 234 ; *Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 395).

<sup>6</sup> Incorrectly described in the heading to the letter as Sir 'Henry'.

I am newly arrived from Amiens where I presented all my noble lords commands to his altesse,<sup>1</sup> who is well intentioned to our affaires, and would signifie so much to my noble lord, were it not for an order which commands him to the court. His altesse hath sent an expresse to the court purposely to be excused which messenger will returne within five dayes. If his altesse can be permitted to stay here, he will be possitive in the businesse, and upon the returne of the messenger, write to his lordship to all particulars.

His altesse assures me that his Majestie will suddenly be in these parts to direct in all his affaires, which I heartily beseech.

I beseech your honor that you will please to honour me with your newes, and to favour me with your commands by Captain Merydeth, who will give your ladyship assurance of the Mareschalls trouble at your indisposition, and doth, with all in these parts who know your merits, earnestly beseech your recovery as doth passionately, Your most obedient servant, Her. Lunsford.

#### 146. General Schomberg to Lady Mordaunt.

12/22 Nov. 1659.—J'ay receu la lettre que vous m'aviez faict l'honneur de m'escire. J'aurois soubhaite avant la paix signe, que Monsieur Littleton<sup>2</sup> aussy bien que Mr. Armoror, fust arrive deux jours avant la paix signe, affin que les deux premiers ministres ayent pris leur derniere resolution a l'avantage de vos bons desseins de Angleterre,<sup>3</sup> don je crey vous auroi bien tost des nouvelles de Monsieur vostre marry, qu'elle ce (se) brouillent si fort que que l'on ne sera pas prest en deca. J'ay recu une lettre de Monsieur de Turenne qui me mende qu'il me respondra, sur mes lettres par le prochaine ordinaire, de me tenir clos et couvert, qu'il mes voisins n'ayant pas de soubson que l'on croit que Monck s'accommodera. Vous voyez bien la dedans qu'il n'est pas perswade que les affaires iront si just. Je luy ay rescrit<sup>4</sup> pour le presser de bien prendre ses mesures qui de mon cost on feray bien les choses assos secretement, mais si Monsieur vostre marry lui faisoit voir les choses en estat, ce seroit les perdre en les remettant. Ce que Monsieur Loccart a dit, je luy peut avoir mende que puisque l'on va continuer la guerre entre l'Angleterre et l'Espagne, que les petits demesles entre Monck et le conseil s'accommoderont et que devant qu'il ce (se) passe quinze jours, on voira tout reuny contre Espagne et ceux qui dans le royaume voudroient faire quelque soulevement pour Charles Stuart. Il est party

<sup>1</sup> Marshal Turenne's desire to assist the restoration of Charles II was clearly shown. He not only lent money to the duke of York for a landing in England from Boulogne (de Ramsay, *The history of Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, viscount de Turenne* (1735), ii. 263), but he kept Mazarin informed through letters from Monsieur Bordeaux, of the changes in the situation in England. Mazarin was unwilling to take any action until a party in England declared publicly for Charles II (D'Avenel, *Lettres de Cardinal Mazarin*, ix (1906), 426).

<sup>2</sup> By 12/22 Nov. 1659, Charles Littleton had left Calais to go to the King with letters from Mordaunt (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 444). Schomberg wrote from Calais.

<sup>3</sup> 17/27 Nov. 1659. Mazarin wrote to Turenne that he does not wish France to intervene in English affairs unless a party in England declared publicly for Charles II (D'Avenel, *Lettres de Cardinal Mazarin* (1906), ix. 426).

<sup>4</sup> 26 Oct./5 Nov. 1659 Schomberg wrote to Turenne, reporting on the situation in England and asking him to send to Lady Mordaunt in writing his offers of assistance (de Grimoard, *Collection des lettres et mémoires du maréchal de Turenne* (1782), i. 313; *Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 438).

ce matin,<sup>1</sup> il pretend estre de retour dans dix jours pour commencer la guerre. Je scoy de bonne part qu'il est revenu mal satisfait de la cour de France. J'ay trouve les officiers a Dunkerq assez en peine de leur condition, vous en ferez vostre profit. Je vous envoy un chiffre dont vous en pourrez envoyer une coppie. Je vous mendray dans deux jours ce que vous pouvez vous attendre de Mons. Turenne, qui me temoigne y estre fort porte, mais il en faut venir aux effectis. Si vous avez quelque chose a me mender, Mons. Robbe<sup>2</sup> me l'envoyera en diligence. Si Monsieur vostre mary arrive, je l'irai trouver, mais ce seroit a propos qu'il ce (se) tienne un peu cache, affin qu'on n'aye pas cognoissance de nostre entreince, jusque a ce que je sois en estat de luy rendre quelque service, et de vous faire paroistre qu'on ne puit pas estre avec plus d'estime et de respect, Madame, vostre tres humble et tres obeisant serviteur, S.

#### 147. Sir Edward Hyde to Lady Mordaunt.

14/24 Nov. 1659.—I have your ladyships fauour of the 16 by Colonel Whitley,<sup>3</sup> and I hope Mr. Stanley<sup>4</sup> is before this arrived at Calais and that my lord your husband has received all that the duke of York and my self have writt to him, by which he understands what may be expected from these parts. Monsieur Schomberg hath done us all the favour wee can expect for the transmission of our letters, but I am not sure all is well settled yet at Nieuport with that governour<sup>5</sup> who is not abundantly civil. One thing I have desired Monsieur Schomberg to doe, which I am sure cannot be provided for at Newport, which is, to give order for the payment of all messengers who are employed either to or from Newport with our letters, and when any expresse passes, as there will frequently, I will take order for the punctuall discharge of whatsoever hath been disbursed that way. Your ladyship will be pleased to transmit the enclosed to my good lord with the very humble service of, Madam, your ladyships most obedient servant, Edw. Hyde.

#### 148. Sir Edward Hyde to Lord Mordaunt.

14/24 Nov. 1659.—My Lord,<sup>6</sup> Collonell Whitley arrived here on Thursday last with your lordships of the one and thirtieth,<sup>7</sup> and I have sent the inclosed to the duke of York<sup>8</sup> who is at Breda, and I presume you have received both those from his Highness to your self<sup>9</sup> by which you will clearly judge what may be expected from these parts.

<sup>1</sup> Lockhart arrived in London on 12/24 Nov. 1659 (Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, ii. 288). He informed Bordeaux, the French ambassador, on 17/27 Nov. that Louis XIV had no intention of interfering in English affairs (*ibid.*, ii. 291).

<sup>2</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>3</sup> Colonel Whitley arrived at Brussels with letters from Mordaunt on 10 Nov. (*infra*, no. 148).

<sup>4</sup> Probably a pseudonym for Mordaunt, who arrived at Calais 13 Nov. (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 448).

<sup>5</sup> The name of the governor is unidentified.

<sup>6</sup> Clarendon MSS., vol. lxvi, fos. 312-13. Draft by H. Hyde. This letter is calendared under the date 12/22 ? Nov. 1659, in *Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 444.

<sup>7</sup> *supra*, no. 100.

<sup>8</sup> Mordaunt to the duke of York, 31 Oct. 1659 (*supra*, no. 115).

<sup>9</sup> The duke of York to Mordaunt 5/15 Nov. 1659 (*supra*, no. 138).

In my last to W. Rumball of the 21<sup>1</sup> I sent the very words of the Kings letter to me, by which you see his sence, and resolution to make an attempt this winter, and I doubt not but by the time this comes to you, you will have received further direction from himself by H. B., N. Armorer or Charles Lyttleton, for I am much deceived if at this very houre his Majestie be not in France, that he may be nearer his business.

It is very strange if either of the two generalls<sup>2</sup> have any designe to serve the King, that they doe not let some of his friends know their purposes, for in that case they ought not only to goe to them and give them all the help they can, but likewise to draw together in other places to hinder those from uniting who would increase their enemies strength. But if they proceed still upon their severall interests and declare nothing of inclination for the King, the best that the good secretary and I can pray for is, that they fight a smart battaile against each other, and if there be a possibility that they can before that, be reconciled by a treaty, without doubt our appearing in armies would advance that reconciliation. And methinks if the prints are true, that both Tynmouth and Hull, are declared for the army, I doubt we may have more reason to feare Moncks being suppressed, then Lamberts; And yet he hath so good a poste that he may avoid fighting if he have no minde to it.

Me thinks it is now time if there be any life in Mr. Finch<sup>3</sup> his treaty so to worke upon Fleetwood, how spiritlesse soever he is, subdivisions will doe much good, and the falling away of any signall person, makes all the rest suspect one another.

I am confident the King will be very just and punctuall in matter of religion, but if any error should be committed, in concession of that nation, I shall not much feare my being guilty of it.

If you did punctually remember or conceive which of your letters that were intended for the King, came to my hands (the accident whereof I informed you, and which was without any fault in the postmaster) you would not think fitt I should send them forward, for your own letter had so much out of cipher, that whosoever understood the affaires of England would have easily made it out, and Mr. Rumballs letter was wholly deciphered by you, so that if it had fallen into Lockarts hands as probably it might have done), if it had at that time passed onto the frontiers) he would not only have discovered too much with reference to many considerations, but be enabled to decipher many other letters of his which by chance have been formerly intercepted by them, and I doubt not they have many of all our letters in their hands, of which they can make nothing.

I heare that many of our friends who were in the last rising are set at liberty, which is a good signe espetially if they use the same freedome in consulting for the advancement of the Kings service, as they did heretofore; and I would be very glad to understand, with whom you now most consult, and I doubt not but you will draw as many persons of interest and reputation, and they may go very competent advisers towards action and excellent supporters of it when it is entred into, who are not proper in their own persons to beare signall parts in it.

<sup>1</sup> Hyde to Rumbold, under the pseudonym 'Mr. Wright', 11/21 Nov. 1659 (Clarendon MSS., vol. lxvi, fo. 226, partly printed in *C.S.P.*, iii. 608-9, draft by Bulteale).

<sup>2</sup> Monck and Lambert.

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, no. 86.



I will send to the King for the letter you mention, there are two of the name<sup>1</sup> that I have heard of, the one a knight of Norfolk,<sup>2</sup> who after no very good part at home, hath spent these late years abroad, discommending all that hath been done since he gave over, but justifies what himself did, which if lawfull will support all the rest. The other was a great presbyterian about Lancashire ;<sup>3</sup> I am deceived if either of them venture much till at least half the game be wonne.

I know not what to say of Colonel R: <sup>4</sup> who I think hath much to answer for not submitting to the Kings judgment and direction in a case where it is impossible otherwise to satisfie his own understanding.

I have done all I can by severall hands to inform my lord of Oxford who is worthy of any paines that can be taken towards it ; and how unwilling soever Mr. Nichols is to be removed from the good opinion he hath long had of Sir Richard Willis, I have said as much to him as I am sure should satisfie him.

Among all your vices, I had not heard you accused of avarice, and converting the great sums you mention towards the improving your fortune ; though I am not much in love with your presbyterians, yet I think some of them (I mean of our nation), are of the same faith with those in Scotland, or will be willing to admitt them who can bring so little to advance it to beare a part in any conclusion.

I know the project of the Isle of Wight to fill many mens heads but I believe verie few doe thoroughly understand it, how impossible it is to establish a peace and security to the nation and how far it is from constituting a monarchicall government, besides, it is absolutely unpracticable, for though at that time there were a people at Westminster between the King<sup>5</sup> and whom, what should passe might have some appearance of law, how constrained soever, yet how to enact that now, will puzzle all their learning, nor would the number that desire it, be able to carry it, if they were now in the roome with those which sate then with them upon it. Nor can it be imagined that a king who hath endured banishment so long, will be perswaded to be no king that he may have leave to love<sup>6</sup> in England.

I shall not need to say any thing to you of Collonell Whitley who probably may bring this, and suppose is enough known to you, there is no doubt of his affection and integrity to the Kings service and I believe may be fitt to beare a good part in the businesse of North Wales. And you will doe best to dispose and apply such men to particular and proper provinces, which will give them work enough in conducting and modelling. The generall sence should be entrusted with persons of very general interest and reputation, who should have no reserve to each other and yt know well how to transmitt their accompts. But amongst privat and particular persons how honest and well meaning soever, there will be a communication of all secrets, to those they love best, and converse with most, how little soever they have

<sup>1</sup> Holland ; see *supra*, no. 100 ; Mordaunt there asked that a letter should be sent from the King to a person of that name.

<sup>2</sup> *Sir John Holland*, bart., parliamentarian, M.P. for Castle Rising Nov. 1640 ; from 1642 to Dec. 1648 served on parliamentary committees in Norfolk (*Acts and Ord.*) ; 23 Feb. 1659-60 member of the council of state (*C.J.*, vii. 849).

<sup>3</sup> *Colonel Richard Holland*, *supra*, no 98, n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> 'Colonel Russell' in the Clarendon MS.

<sup>5</sup> Charles I.

<sup>6</sup> Corrected to 'live' in MS.

els to doe with the affaire, and it is a miraculous thing that this kinde of communication hath yet done no more hurt, though it hath done enough.

A good disposition and preparation in Kent and upon the seacosts is verie necessary for any assistance that must come from these parts. And therefore I would be verie glad to know what is done towards it. God preserve your lordship and enable me to serve you as, your lordships affectionate humble servant, Edw. Hyde.

#### 149. Lord Mordaunt to the King.

[*London*, 24 Nov. 1659.—This is the same letter as no. 121, 2 Nov. 1659, but it omits the second postscript. It has a few unimportant verbal differences.]

#### 150. Sir Edward Nicholas to Lord Mordaunt.

*Brussels*, 15/25 Nov. 1659.—I<sup>1</sup> have received an answer to my letter<sup>2</sup> from the King of England, concerning a message your lordship sent to the duke of York, by H. B.<sup>3</sup> upon an intimation you had from an intimate friend of Lamberts; and his Majestie sends word that he hath now spoken with H. B. about that businesse and doth not find there is foundation enough for his Majestie to build any judgment upon, or to give any other directions in it, then that if it be renewed, continued, so that he may be sure the overture<sup>4</sup> is authentique his Majestie would have it kept up; but he saith he can give no countenance to any advances on his part that may be lyable to expose him to deniall or to the reproach of lighness of beleefe in a businesse of that nature which is all I have to say to your lordship on that subject. But it may be when H. B. comes, who was to be dispatcht with the first, he may have something more to that to give your lordship concerning.

The King of England did arrive at the treaty<sup>5</sup> the 28 past and hath been received here, by the King of Spayn's particular order in the same manner, as if himself were there in person and Don Lewis de Haro hath given his Majesty all demonstrations imaginable of his masters and his own reall intentions to serve his Majestie effectually, and we heare the Cardinall Mazarine hath also assured the King of England of his own and his masters good and reall inclinations for his Majesties interest.

The King though he were long on his way, came to the treaty by Gods providence as seasonably for his business as could be wished. The treaty of peace and marriage between the two crowns was signed by the two great ministers the 7th of this month and published at Fontarabia the next day. We believe the King of England as soone as these ministers<sup>6</sup> (which it was thought would be about the

<sup>1</sup> Calendared in *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, pp. 262-3—12/22 Nov. Brussels, (Secretary Nicholas) to Lord Mordaunt, Flanders correspondence, draft partially in shorthand, endorsed 'copy of myne to Lord Mordaunt, sent by Colonel Whitley'.

<sup>2</sup> Sir E. Nicholas to the King 8/18 Oct. 1659 (*Carte, Ormonde papers*, ii. 237-8) dealing with Mordaunt's proposal for a marriage between the duke of York and Lambert's daughter.

<sup>3</sup> Hartgill Baron in the copy by Nicholas.

<sup>4</sup> 'Foundation' in the copy by Nicholas.

<sup>5</sup> 'The King arrived at Fuentarabia' in the copy by Nicholas (see notes 5 and 6 on *supra*, no. 126).

<sup>6</sup> 'Parte' after 'ministers' in the copy by Nicholas.

15 present) will hasten nearer the sea parts to be ready to make his advantage of any good occasion shall offer itself. I have reason to believe your lordship will by H. B. receive full satisfactions in your expectations from his Majestie, who I understand is extreemly well satisfied with your lordships industry and care of all his concerns where you are. I<sup>1</sup> have seen H. L. C.'s letter to Mr. R. and shall refer you to it without adding any more to this but that I am ever etc. The King of England writ hither the 3rd instant that he is confident he shall be enabled to assist his friends in England with some considerable forces before this winter be past, and therefore he wishes his friends there would make what preparations they can possibly without noyse.<sup>2</sup>

#### 151. Richard Nicolls to Lord Mordaunt.

*Bergue*, 16/26 Nov. 1659.—My Lord, Last night at 6 o'clock I received your lordships of the 24th wherein being desired to come to Calais the 23rd,<sup>3</sup> or that your lordship would stay as long as you could the 26, the impossibility of giving your lordship satisfaction in that particler will be easily discerned; and really I did not know of your being at Calais, for if I had I would have gon to Callais with Monsieur Schomberg, although I have occasions here which I am to attend.

I should here play the courtier in asserting your merit of that honor which the King hath conferred lately upon your lordship at least since I had the honour to see you. But I shall choose rather to speake of your merits both active and passive in his Majesties affaires, to strangers then to your self, for I am a profest enemy to every thing looks like a complement; and where I have once profest an esteeme or a friendship as to your lordship, it is not in my power to forsake it.

I doe not a little wonder to finde my friendship to your lordship brought into suspition, as if my eares had been abused, or my sence corrupted with false stories to your lordships prejudice. I doe assure your lordship I have a perfect value for your person, and I can bear a good testimony from the mouths of many that differ much in other poynts, that in all your actions and accounts your lordship hath proceeded much like a person of honor.

My lord I must avow also, a . . . to some friends of mine in England whom I found there and abroad aspersed, some in one kinde and some in an other, for whose sakes I am much concerned, and not for theirs only but for the consequences thereof to the Kings affaires. I am a friend to unity and peace amongst ourselves. But if there have been a Judas amongst us, which others with myself doe and will so far beleieve, as not to converse in businesse of publique nature with any person of an ill fame. Yet if it were your own case (knowing no more then some doe in England), you could not swallow so bitter a pill, upon very credible reports,

<sup>1</sup> 'I have seen what the lord chancellor had written to Mr. Rumbald and shall refer your lordship to it without adding any more now to this but my full assurance of being unalterably' in the copy by Nicholas. There are some other verbal differences of minor importance in the two versions.

<sup>2</sup> The letter is unsigned.

<sup>3</sup> Mordaunt arrived at Calais 13/23 Nov. 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 448).

against a person whose friendship and practice in businesse you had been very well assured of many years together.<sup>1</sup>

Tis hard for flesh and bloud to have any other faith then that which I doe avow my friends have already in that poynt. My lord I will ad this also, that when I saw those persons whom you know are concerned in this discourse, I never heard a sillable detractory to your self, but there are some persons who spare no body, and it were to be wished they were not encouraged, or that they would speake of things within their knowledge, or hold their tongues, for we are enough ridiculous, and shall be contemptible for such divisions, emulations, and hatred one of another, even when we are scarce a handfull in comparison of our enemies.

My lord the burden of my story to all people and in all places is and shall be, let there be a good correspondence, unity and friendship amonst the handfull, and in all humane probability our enemies will not stand long; and now my lord let me assure you that I will not forsake the honor of your friendship, and since you are pleased to set a value on mine, it shall ever be to serve you for I am, my lord, your faithfull servant, R. N.

#### 152. Lord Mordaunt to Sir William Waller.

*Calais, 26 Nov. 1659.*—Sir, Since it hath pleased his Majestie to continue me the honour of his trust and commands, I am with all reverence to obeye them by sending you by a most safe hand what I should have given you myself.

Pray Sir, believe I shall neither expose your person,<sup>2</sup> nor fortune, but upon such warrantable grounds as you will be well satisfied with, and seeing his Majestie is graciously pleased to leave it to my prudence, when to desire you to put your self in armes, to assert his unquestioned rights, and your own and your nation's liberty, I give you my faith I shall be extreame cautious how and when I doe it, and upon this assurance I cannot doubt but you will be very punctuall on your part; his condition here is as we wish it, and a short time will shew you how extreemly he is valued by both the crowns, who would clearly establish him, but that he desires to owe some part of that great work to his faithfull subjects.<sup>3</sup>

#### 153. Lord Mordaunt to ———.

*Calais, 26 Nov. 1659.*—Cosen,<sup>4</sup> What to say to you I scarce know, since I cannot but confesse I tooke your estranging your self from me worse than any slight I suffered from the rest of your caball; you see my plainness which I have reason to use, to prevent future mistakes. My near relation to you, my esteem of you, made

<sup>1</sup> Richard Nicolls refused to believe in the treachery of Sir Richard Willis (Hyde to Ormonde, 19/29 Nov. 1659; Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 284-6).

<sup>2</sup> Sir William Waller had only been released on 31 Oct. 1659 from the Tower where he had been detained for complicity in Booth's rising (*supra*, no 11, n. 5).

<sup>3</sup> The letter is unsigned.

<sup>4</sup> The letter is probably to Alan Broderrick, a cousin of Mordaunt, who had persisted in believing in the innocence of Sir Richard Willis (*C.S.P.*, iii. 562-4). But by 5/15 Nov. 1659 he agreed to accept the King's ruling and denounce Willis (*C.S.P.*, iii. 605-6).

me believe on either account I might have found some marks of your favour and good opinion. But cosin, you best know the reason why I did not. I should not be thus ingenious to you did I not intend to serve you, and my downrightnesse in the first may give you reason to beleve me in the other : I add my request, to the King's command, that you would absolutely break off all communication with that unhappy knight Sir R. W. and if this letter find you in good humor, and in a franknesse to oblige, when humbly desired, I ask of you for my self that being my nearest kinsman you will be my nearest friend.

This esteeme I shew to your virtue, that I make it my businesse to reconcile my self to a worthy man. And so give me leave to tell you you will be inexcusable if you refuse this hearty offer of your cosin and most humble servant, Mordaunt.

#### 154. Lord Belasyse to the King.

*London, 28 Nov. 1659.*—Sir, May it please your Majestie, being lately discharged from a severe prison in the Tower,<sup>1</sup> though upon hard tearmes, I am the willinger to sumitt to it, because it gives me the freedome of promoting all those probable advantages which in this present juncture offer themselves more than ever, for your Majesties establishment, the discords here having rendred all wayes of agreement impossible amongst your Majesties enemies, so as even the worst of them we hope may be brought to cast themselves upon your Majesties clemency, since both they and all your Majesties subjects of these nations discern now playnly, no peace or settlement can be under any other government but your Majesties.

Monck we hope will declare for a free parliament, and suffer Scotland to arme. Lambert is resolved to perish in opposition to that interest. And whilst they and their armies are in the north, I am confident were your Majesties affaires abroad in a posture for a speedy invasion, a much lesse number would doe the worke now then ever yet probably could be hoped for. I suppose your Majestie hath received an accompt from Sir John Grenville of your joynt command to us concerning Monck,<sup>2</sup> which we shall still improve with our utmost endeavours, by whose hands and cipher, these have the honour to be conveyed to your Majestie, from Sir, your Majesties most humble servant and subject, Bellasis.

#### 155. Sir John Grenville to Lord Mordaunt.

*London, 29 Nov. 1659.*—My lord,<sup>3</sup> I have received your lordships with the enclosed from our master for both which I give your lordship most humble thanks, and am very much obliged unto your kindness and friendship for giving so favourable a character of me, which I could not deserve but shall ever acknowledge the same with all thankfulness, and do very much long for an opportunity to make you those

<sup>1</sup> *John Lord Belasyse* (*supra*, no. 7, n. 5) was released on 2 Nov. 1659 from imprisonment from 5 Aug. for complicity in Booth's rising (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 75); Whitelocke, *Memorials*, p. 688).

<sup>2</sup> On 6 July 1659 through Mordaunt, Sir John Grenville asked the King for a commission to himself, Lord Belasyse and Lord Fauconberg to treat with Monck (*C.S.P.*, iii. 516). The King sent by Hyde the desired commission on 11/21 July (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 268).

<sup>3</sup> Since 13 Nov. Mordaunt was in France (*supra*, no. 147, n. 2).

gratefull returnes I owe you for those many obliging favours which I shall endeavour to repay to your lordship in the handsomest manner I may, whensoever your occasions shall require my service.

I have taken the boldnesse to write to his Majestie <sup>1</sup> and to say something therein relating to your self, though indeed it may seem a needlesse work considering your interest and merit ; and likewise how unfitt a person I am for such a recommendation, wherein your lordship hath done me more honor in laying your commands on me, upon soe pleasing a subject, then I am capable of doing you right, in testifieing those unquestionable truths, which I shall own to the whole world, and I am sure your greatest enemies cannot gainsay it, without an injury to truth as well as justice. And to the end you may be pleased to see what I have written to his Majestie, I have here enclosed sent you a copy of my letter with the originall, which I humbly beseech if you think fitt to present to his Majestie and to supply my defects with your wonted kindnesse and friendship, both in vouchsafing me your pardon, and continuing to doe me those good offices to his Majestie which you have begun having no other end, then the advancement of his Majesties service to the utmost of my power, and to serve him honestly and faithfully without any faction, according to your good example, which I shall be ambitious to follow in all things I may.

For newes here, I have enclosed sent you general Monck <sup>2</sup> his late letter to the lord mayor and common councell, which doth not looke like compliance with the late agreement made here by his commissioners, his possitive answer thereto being dayly expected, till when no body can make a certeyne judgment concerning the issue of that affaire. In the interim no care shall be wanting to observe your instructions to Monck as well as in all other things within my power.

Since your departure I have had discourse with very many considerable persons, and some that I never knew before, finding everybody his genius and goodwill tending to that end wee all wish best, and to speake truly, I beleeve his Majestie hath now the hearts of his subjects more firmly devoted then ever to his service, because it is now most apparant to all men living, there can never be any happy settlement without his Majesties establishment, which God graunt may be effectuell and speedy.

Your lordship will doe very well, I humbly conceive, to bring severall kinde letters and commissions from his Majestie to be delivered to such as you shall think deserving which will be requisite at this season. Mr. Howe and some others were lately with me, having lost their old commissions and desire new, with expressions of much zeale and affection and that they will imediatly put themselves into readinesse.

I finde by Mr. Rumball he hath yet some few left, but I shall not deliver any without your order, therefore I pray you signifie your pleasure herein by the first, and such other instructions as you think fit which shall be observed ; in the interim, I shall endeavour to keep up the spirits of our friends by all the encouragements I can give them.

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Grenville to the King, 1 Nov. 1659. (*Supra*, no. 119.) A copy of this letter was enclosed in no. 155.

<sup>2</sup> This letter is printed in the *Old parliamentary history*, xxii (1763), 46, together with the answer sent on 29 Dec. 48-50.

I suppose that I have clearly disengaged the Lord Bellasis from the old knot, having promised me to have nothing more to doe with them, nor with any faction whatsoever, to the prejudice of his Majesties affaires, and that he will consult with me in all things of that nature, and hath by this conveyance sent his Majesty a very good and modest letter <sup>1</sup> enclosed within myne at present, which I helped him to put in cipher, and at your returne I hope you will finde all people here ready to imbrace his majesties service, and interest according to those large professions which they make.

Honest Mr. Rumball continues to take indefatigable paines here, but I see few or none of the other friends to help or assist him, which in my opinion is a great shame to them all, for my part I am and shall be alwayes ready to serve him in your absence all I can. The good man both for his zeale and faithfullnesse doth certainly deserve as much from his Majesty as any person can ; But I am sure this is a very impertinent discourse to your lordship, who doe know that gentleman and his merit much better then I doe.

I must not forget to put you in minde, whether it will not be necessary in case the King of France own his Majesties interest, to send a messenger to Monck from the King of France <sup>2</sup> to encourage him and the nation of Scotland as an ancient ally, with assurance of supply and assistance, this is the opinion of some of your friends, which I submit to your better judgment.

For the honour you are pleased to conferre on me, in joyning me in your trust, I cannot deserve but shall be ready to obey your commands, and serve his Majestie to the utmost of my weak abilitie in any capacity he shall think fitt. But should be glad to receive his Majesties particular commands touching the same which I have never yet done only I am commanded to receive your instructions, which I shall not faile to obey, with all chearfullnesse and observance, as I have ever done, assuring your Lordship that no person living hath a greater value for you, or a higher sence of your obligations, then my self, who am and will allwayes appeare : my lord, your Lordships most humble most affectionate and most faithfull servant, J. G.

### 156. John Barwick to the King.

28 Nov. 1659.—Sir, Yesterday I received a letter from your Majesties faithfull and industrious servant the Lord Mordaunt ; wherein there was one enclosed from your Majestie to Sir Henry Yelverton,<sup>3</sup> which I shall see conveyed to his hand with all due care. I continue still at my former distance with Cloberry,<sup>4</sup> by the interposi-

<sup>1</sup> *supra*, no. 154.

<sup>2</sup> Mazarin in his letter to the Abbé Montague of 11/21 Nov. 1659, states his belief that Lambert would be unable to gain the superiority over Monck ; he advised that Charles II should go to Flanders to be within access of England (D'Avenel, *Lettres de Cardinal Mazarin*, ix (1906), 425). Turenne sent an envoy who was hospitably received by Monck. Turenne's letter of thanks is printed in de Ramsey, *History of Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, viscount de Turenne* (1735), i. 331.

<sup>3</sup> In his letter of 12/22 Nov. 1659 to Ormonde, Hyde enclosed a letter for the King to send to Sir Henry Yelverton (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 444 ; Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii, 282, 291).

<sup>4</sup> Colonel John Cloberry, parliamentary soldier of Bradstone, Devon, was colonel of a regiment of horse in Monck's army in Scotland in 1659 (Firth, *Regimental history*, i. 171) ; a kinsman of Monck, he supported him in declaring for the parliament (Baker, *Chronicle*, 582) ; he was converted

tion of his brother ; nearer I cannot get, unlesse I will lay aside my errand, and upon those termes I may. I shall observe him in his own pace, in hope that thereby I may make him to mend it in time. In the interim he gives assurance by our intermediate friend, that all which hath been done in Scotland, did proceed originally from himself, and was intended in order to your Majesties service. But whether the case be altogether the same in Monck is disputable by reason of his reservednesse : to be sure he disclaims any such thought for the present, and my friend keeps his counsell so far, if it be otherwise. For what was concluded on, mentioned in the news booke, he saith was extorted by necessity.

Lambert is much superior in horse (and as the other party complains) had enlarged his quarters beyond the agreed limits, waiting for a breaking off of the treaty, that he might fall upon the other party on a suddain, which made Moncks commissioners for to throw the business into that confusion which we here cry up for a peace.<sup>1</sup> I doe confesse, my dullness may very well be the cause why I doe not understand it, but yet I wonder any thing should be practicable to any that is not inteligible to all. And in that very thing that is concluded upon, there be some bones cast, that are not well digested on this side. Tis certain that some of Lamberts friends speake very sleightly of it, and it is not hard to guess where the shooe pincheth ; so that if this breach should be made up, the very cure of the old wound may possibly make a new one. But if we may believe the common report, the first part is not likely. For the leavying volunteers on this side, and Moncks calling a convention of the knights and burgesses of Scotland on the other,<sup>2</sup> do not prognosticate any likelihood of agreement. And the thing most to be wondered at is, that the congregationall men are many of them disgusted at the army. Griffith<sup>3</sup> speaks, and Feake<sup>4</sup> preacheth against their proceeding. I heare that the new militia in the north, as well as in London stand newtrall and the people generally hold off as much as they dare from paying taxes till the souldiery be brought to leavy them. So that Lamberts army is forced to take free quarter.

Lockhart is returned and saith your Majestie hath a promise from France and Spayne of 4000 horse and 12000 foote : <sup>5</sup> I speak not this to carry coales to Newcastle,

to royalism through his brother-in-law John Otway, the friend of John Barwick (Firth, *op. cit.*, i. 171-2).

<sup>1</sup> This is an allusion to the agreement signed in London on 15 Nov. 1659 which Monck refused to ratify (*The Clarke papers*, iv (1901), 116, 129).

<sup>2</sup> The meeting of commissioners from the shires and boroughs of Scotland with General Monck at Edinburgh took place on 15 Nov. 1659 (*ibid.*, 113-14).

<sup>3</sup> *John Griffith* (1622 ?-1700), Baptist minister, appears to have joined the Baptists about 1640 and founded a congregation c. 1646 in Dunning's Alley, Bishopsgate Street. *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> *Christopher Feake* (fl. 1645-60), Fifth-monarchist, began as an Independent minister in London ; he was imprisoned in 1655 but released in Dec. 1656 ; his offence was his printing and preaching attacks on the Protector (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, i. 380). He disappears in 1660. *D.N.B.*

<sup>5</sup> It is doubtful if any such definite offer were made to Charles II. Mazarin would prefer a monarchy to a republic in England (D'Avenel, *Lettres de Cardinal Mazarin*, ix. 275), but he was not prepared to intervene and checked Turenne's desires to do so (*ibid.*, 331, 426). Lockhart is reported by the Venetian resident in England as confirming this (*Cal. S.P. Venetian*, 1659-61, p. 98). But this report that Spain and France would oppose England is repeated by Morland to Hyde on 25 Nov. (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 458).



but only to shew how wise we are here in every thing. I cannot yet learne what the mistery is of Moncks calling this convention. I have not yet spoken with my friend since the first bruite of it arrived. Hitherto it hath alwayes been pretended, that to arme the Scots would infallibly make a defection of the whole army in Scotland. I hope it's otherwise, or that necessity may make it so. I am &c.

Lockharts intelligence makes your Majesties preparations as backward as the spring.<sup>1</sup>

#### 157. Lady Mordaunt to Sir John Grenville.

19/29 Nov. 1659.—I am commanded by my best friend<sup>2</sup> to present you with his service and to let you know that he had writ to you himself, but that he is commanded away to meet his master ; for at his arrivall here he mett with an expresse from him, that brought him so great an assurance of kindness and trust ; that he reasonably concludes it will stop his enemies mouths, since they can no longer raile at him without reflecting on the person from whom his power is derived. He commands me to assure you of his friendship, and that he will make use of his interest in nothing more then to serve his friends.<sup>3</sup>

#### 158. Nicholas Armorer to Lady Mordaunt.

Paris, 29/30 Nov. 1659.—Madam,<sup>4</sup> This in the first place, is to congratulate my lords safe arrivall on this side the water. By his lordships letter to Percy Church, I did beleeeve he would have been here before the letters went for Calais, which has made me neglect writing so long that this will scarce have tyme to reach the post. I found here a letter from your ladyship with the enclosed note from my most excellent charge, which both the one and the other were most welcome to me. Charles<sup>5</sup> I found still here, and when I came it was to no purpose for him to remove because his master is upon his way posting hither. I left his Majesty between Byone and Burdeaux upon his journey only accompanied at that time with my lord of Ormond and Jermine,<sup>6</sup> all the rest of his people he sent me with to Bordeaux to send by the messenger to Paris and then commanded me to come on hither post, and stay for him. I left Burdeaux on Sunday last at noone, and was here with the Queene Thursday before nine in the morning,<sup>7</sup> his Majesty would not be at Burdeaux till Tuesday at night, being to make a step out of the way, he will stay all Wednesday, upon Thursday he resolved with my lord of Ormond only, and Mr. Oneale and two

<sup>1</sup> The letter is unsigned.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Mordaunt reached Calais on 13/23 Nov. and left for Paris on 20/30 Nov. (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 448, 454). He reached Paris on 25 Nov./5 Dec. (*ibid.*, iv. 456).

<sup>3</sup> The letter is unsigned.

<sup>4</sup> M. Armorer arrived at Paris from Bordeaux on 17/27 Nov. (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 449).

<sup>5</sup> Charles Lyttleton, who had come to Paris by 18/28 Nov. from Calais with letters for the King (*ibid.*, 444, 451).

<sup>6</sup> Carte, *Ormonde*, iii. 690.

<sup>7</sup> Armorer left Bordeaux on 13/23 Nov., arrived in Paris 17/27 Nov. The King would reach Bordeaux on 15/25 Nov.

under servants to come post hither<sup>1</sup>; my Lord Jermin<sup>2</sup> comes post a day sooner to be here before the King. Here is mighty joy amongst all that the King is to come to the Pallaise Royall, where his stay will be only as my lord shall let him see his businesse requires.

If my lord be come away as I hope he is, it will be necessary that your ladyship let your gallant W: R:<sup>3</sup> know what haste our master is making towards them, and also that his Majesty comes well satisfied from all those he had to deale with, as well from the French as Spanish Court. God preserve your ladyship and send me the opportunity to shew you that I am for ever, your obedient subject and faithfull servant,<sup>4</sup> &c.

#### 159. Sir Herbert<sup>5</sup> Lunsford to Lord Mordaunt.

*Abbeville, 21 Nov./1 Dec. 1659.*—My lord, I waited with great impatience your lordships arrivall,<sup>6</sup> ever since I had the honour to receive your last letters by Capt. Merydith.<sup>7</sup> I sent your paquet immediatly to Parris, according to your address, and the news to the noble Mareschall, who expects you. I am much surprised that I heare nothing from you, I hope it is caused by multitude of affaires, and not by any disaster either to your self in person, your noble lady, or to eminent affaires: I earnestly desire all happiness to all, and most humbly beseech your lordships commands, to him that is passionately, your lordships most obedient humble servant, Her. Lunsford.

#### 160. Colonel Nugent to Lady Mordaunt.

*Bergue, 22 Nov./2 Dec. 1659.*—I have sent a drummer last Friday for Capt. Barber,<sup>8</sup> and was refused his liberty. I hope to procure it by one I doe send this day, and then I shall be able to give your ladyship an accompt of that affaire. Mr. Nicolls<sup>9</sup> has been very earnest to know somewhat from me this night, but I will not

<sup>1</sup> He arrived at Colombe on Friday, 25 Nov./5 Dec. (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 456). Ormonde and Daniel O'Neill went first to Paris and then to Colombe.

<sup>2</sup> Queen Henrietta Maria sent Lord Jermyn and the Abbé Montague to Cardinal Mazarin to Toulouse to ask for aid for Charles II (Carte, *Ormonde*, iii. 691; Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 254-6). Mazarin arrived at Toulouse from St. Jean-de-Luz on 11/21 Nov., but refused to pledge French aid or meet Charles II (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 445).

<sup>3</sup> William Rumbold.

<sup>4</sup> The letter is unsigned.

<sup>5</sup> Incorrectly described in the heading to the letter as 'Sir Henry'.

<sup>6</sup> In reply to Lunsford's letter to her of 12/22 Nov. (*supra*, no. 145), Lady Mordaunt had informed him of the arrival of Lord Mordaunt in France.

<sup>7</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>8</sup> Captain Robert Barber, son of James Barber, was a prisoner at St. Omer in Sept. 1659 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 178).

<sup>9</sup> Richard Nicolls having received instructions (*The Nicholas papers*, iv (1920), 189) from the duke of York to try to secure Dunkirk for the King, wished to gain information from Colonel Nugent of the alternative plan sponsored by Lord Mordaunt, Colonel Nugent and Sir Herbert Lunsford, to achieve this by the help of General Schomberg. The existence of rival schemes led to constant friction, and endangered the whole undertaking in Mordaunt's opinion (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 461).

violate my oath of secrecie taken to my lord, though he tells me my lord hath told him all ; I pray Madam, remove this difficulty, and beleeve Madam that I am your most humble servant, Nugent.

#### 161. Richard Nicolls to Lord Mordaunt.

*Bergue, 22 Nov./2 Dec. 1659.*—My lord, I shall take this opportunity early to acquitt myself of the guilt of any misfortune which may attend the businesse we spake of, for having dealt with that clearnesse on my part, which was necessary to carry on the Kings interest, and giving your lordship assurance to unite my friends to that purpose ; I finde my self only obliged to discover the good intentions of my friends, and the other partie is bound up to a secrecy so that upon the matter wee shall be uselesse one to another, without a perfect knowledge of the whole diversity of parts may be prejudiciall.

Your lordship well enough foresaw this ; and yet this secrecy to the prejudice of an union is by your lordships direction.<sup>1</sup> I doe not seeke further after your reasons, but I make no doubt but to excuse my self very well for desisting ; although I have shewed my instructions from the duke,<sup>2</sup> yet Lieut. Colonel Nugent is bound so strictly, that no hand but your own can release him. Therefore I shall give the duke this accompt, and will hasten my journey to Parris, that I may the sooner have the honor to kisse your hands as, my lord, your lordships most humble servant, Ric: Nicholls.

#### 162. General Schomberg to Lady Mordaunt.

*Calais, 22 Nov./2 Dec. 1659.*—Madame, J'ay laisse le porteur mon secretaire en cas que vostre homme arrive d'Angleterre avec quelque nouvelles considerables. Comme vous ne les pourrez pas mander par l'ordinaire, je prendray une partie de chemin la poste, et pourray faire scavoir les nouvelles plus promptement au my Lord Mordaunt. Je vous prie de me donner son address ou il loge a Paris. Je lui escriray d'Amiens.<sup>3</sup> S'il me mende le despart du Rèyne, il (? omission) pas a tacher, de ce (se) rencontrer par les chemin. Monsieur Nicolls a tousjours grand correspondance avec Mons<sup>r</sup> La Vall.<sup>4</sup> Je crains que il ne faut prejudice l'affaire. Je vous bais tres humblement mains et suis tres passionement, Madame, Vostre tres humble et tres obeisant servitr, Schomberg.

#### 163. Sir Edward Nicholas to Lord Mordaunt.

*Brussels, 3/13 Dec. 1659.*—My<sup>5</sup> very good lord, My last to your lordship of the

<sup>1</sup> See Mordaunt's letter of 9 Nov. to Nicolls on the matter (*supra*, no. 129).

<sup>2</sup> *The Nicholas papers*, iv (1920), 189.

<sup>3</sup> Schomberg was on his way south from Calais ; he desired a meeting with Lord Mordaunt and with the King.

<sup>4</sup> *Monsieur de la Val*, customer of Dunkirk, with whom Nicolls corresponded, in Mordaunt's opinion unwisely (*supra*, no. 129).

<sup>5</sup> Calendared in *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 275, 3/13 Dec. 1659, Brussels : (Secretary Nicholas) to Viscount Mordaunt, draft, shorthand, Flanders correspondence.

24<sup>1</sup> past I sent to Callais by Colonel Whitley and have since received your lordships of the 25 of the same,<sup>2</sup> which came not to me untill the 6th instant but was most welcome bringing the good newes of your lordships safe arrivall at Callais out of the power of the rebells in England where so great industry and vigilancy was used by them to apprehend you ; I am very glad that your lordship went your self to the King with the newes of so great importance, as you say you had to deliver his Majesty.

I have seen your letter to the duke of York<sup>3</sup> which was here delivered to his royall Highnesse ; I am very confident that all the Irish and other his Majesties good subjects in these parts will very cheerfully imbrace any occasion to serve his Majesty, all the difficulty will be to procure money and shipping to arme accomodate and transport them when it shall be seasonable. But when his Majestie shall be here, we shall I hope finde these ministers more forward then hitherto they have been to assist his Majestie.

I doubt not but your lordship is by this time fully satisfied of the great esteem his Majesty hath of your person, and the value he justly settis on your great services. I shall now say nothing to you of the high disunion and confusion the rebells are in among themselves in England, because I presume your lordship hath the same where you are with more speed and fuller then we here, albeit I send this to Parris for you, yet I am not out of hope to see your lordship here, if not so soon as the King, yet shortly after him, and I shall never faile to pay you all the faithfull service that may be performed by, my very good lord, your lordships most humble and obedient servant, Edw. Nicholas.

#### 164. General Schomberg to Lady Mordaunt.

23 Nov./3 Dec. 1659.—Madame, Pour tenir une partie de ma paroll, je vous envoy une coppie de chappons, ne s'en trouvant pas d'avantage ici avec quelque cellery et des confitures de mon mesnage, il y paroist bien puis qu'on les menage si fort qu'on en envoyant si petite quantite, si vous les trouvez bon, vous pouvez desposer de tout ce qui est dans la famille. Ce n'est pas offrir grand chose, mais il y a cela de commode qu'on y vait sans compliment sans ceremonie. Pour revenir au serieux, je vous diray que Mons. Nicols est ici, qui a fort presse Nugent,<sup>4</sup> de lui dire quelque chose sur l'affaire, dont il ce (se) veut mesler. J'ay dit a Nugent qu'il en demeura en ces termes avec luy qu'il en a nul cognoissance, il luy a dit que Monsieur de Baumont<sup>5</sup> luy a dit important. Je puis m'imaginer ce que cela peut estre, et

<sup>1</sup> The letter of Sir Edward Nicholas to Mordaunt is dated 25 Nov. in *supra*, no. 150, and 22 Nov. in the draft by Nicholas (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 262).

<sup>2</sup> In the draft by Nicholas the words 'from Calais' are inserted after 'same'. Mordaunt arrived at Calais 13/23 Nov. and wrote to Nicholas, as to Hyde, on 15/25 Nov. announcing that he was going to meet the King (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 447).

<sup>3</sup> In the draft by Nicholas, the last sentence is given as a postscript and marked 'III'. The draft is endorsed, 'copy of myne to Lord Viscount Mordaunt, sent by Pe(rcy) Church'.

<sup>4</sup> See *supra*, no. 160, n. 9.

<sup>5</sup> 'Monsieur and Madame Beaumont' are clearly Lord and Lady Mordaunt, though her pseudonym 'Mr. Beaumont' was used for the King by Sir John Grenville in a letter to Hyde of 31 Oct. 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 429).

qu'il ne luy a dit rien d'essentiel. Nous en demeurerens en ces termes et je suis seulement en peine qu'il voudra ce (se) mesler d'affaires en nostre voysinage, mais je luy dirai que je crains que son sejour ici n'y donne de la mesfiance. Le advis d'Angleterre en general sont que les affaires sont bien accomodes avec Monck, mais vu battelier que arrivant hyer de Angleterre, dit que toutes les choses et le peuple sont dans une grande confusion. Il est arrive encore cinquante mille livres a Dunkerq. J'ay mende a Mons de Burdau<sup>1</sup> luy a escriver ne lui facient pas croire que toute est restablis et accomodes. J'ay escrit encors une fois pour la personne qui scavoit a St. Omer et respondu pour ses dettez.

Je n'ay pas encours permission d'aller a Paris quand la personne qui Mons. de Baumont y espere trouver me commendre d'y aller le rencontrer ou il sera, je le feray et vous pouvez estre assure que je seray ravy de faire les choses qui seront en mon pouvoir et que je suiveroys tres fidelement les sentiments de Mons et Madame Baumont, a qui je suis tres passionement, Madame, vostre tres humble et tres obeysant servtr., Schomberg.

#### 165. Colonel Nugent to Lady Mordaunt.

25 Nov./5 Dec. 1659.—Madame, Here has been last night my friend and Capt. Barber.<sup>2</sup> I make no doubt but the later will be able to procure for me what I desire when he has his libertie ; he is to return to prison tomorrow. My friend does assure me that Monck has sent his summons to all the counties in Scotland to send their members to sitt in parliament at Edinburgh ; this is certain. He assures me also of generall discontent at Mrs. Dorothe's<sup>3</sup> for want of moneyes. Colonel Alsop is sent for to goe for England,<sup>4</sup> upon which my friend does worke very much, and desires that wee should give speedily to worke, this is also desired very much by, Madame, your ladyships most humble servant, N.

I have sent a pacquet by Mr. Nichols last Saturday to Mr. Booth ; I hope your ladyship has received yours.

#### 166. John Heath to Lord Mordaunt.

Calais, 26 Nov./6 Dec. 1659.—My lord,<sup>5</sup> The obligation your lordship has laid on me by your franknesse of conversation, grounded on your opinion of my integrity

<sup>1</sup> *Monsieur Antoine de Bordeaux* (1621–60), French ambassador in England. Bordeaux came to England in Dec. 1652 ; he was accredited as ambassador to Cromwell 21 Feb. 1654 and remained as ambassador to each government until the restoration, when Charles II refused to recognise him. He returned to France and died in Sept. 1660 (*Recueil des instructions données aux ambassadeurs et ministres de France*, xxiv, ed. Jusserand (1929), i. 158, 173, 231–2).

<sup>2</sup> See *supra*, no. 160, n. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Dunkirk.

<sup>4</sup> *Colonel Roger Alsop* (d. 1676), soldier, commanded a regiment of foot in Flanders from April 1659 (Firth, *Regimental history*, ii. 678–83) ; took part in the battle of the Dunes, and in Lockhart's absence acted with Colonel Lillingston in command of Dunkirk.

<sup>5</sup> *John Heath*, royalist, 2nd son of Chief Justice Sir Robert Heath ; in 1654 counsel-at-law and member of the King's Council (*Cal. C.S.P.*, ii. 279, 349) ; in 1659 from Oct. to Dec. 23 at Calais, transmitting information from England to Hyde ; on 23 Dec. 1659 back in England (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 414, 497 ; *The Nicholas papers*, iv (1920), 204). *D.N.B.*

and zeale to the common interest of our King and countrey, as it presseth me to take the first opportunitie of rendring you my thanks and professing my self your most reall and devoted servant, so it emboldens me to make this addresse to your lordship with the same freedome of writing your lordship has been pleased to allow me of discoursing with you.

The occurrences of England since your lordship went hence haue been such as gives us no discouragement at all but rather warmer hopes.

The Wednesdayes pacquet brought your lady a great collection of newes much contrary to their prints, which now must shew the fairest outsides. I suppose you will receive that collection from your lady by this courier, and what this pacquet has added to it; By both I finde, though their former print speak of an accomodation like to be on the treaty with Monck's commissioners, and their last (though more coldly) set a face on it as if they hoped a good accomodation, at least a good issue of those affaires, and brag of a defection from Monck of numbers of officers and souldiers, yet the truth is, that treaty<sup>1</sup> was never set on foot but to gaine time, and see what will be done from abroad, on which their expectations as well as ours are very intent; and in the meane while Monck has gained the advantage of making a convention in Scotland of which their print says there is no effect for want of pleni-potentiary power, yet it will prove true that he has obtained from the country a concession of moneys for payment of his army and provisions for their march and a supply of horse. Hee has paid his army a moneths pay and published a liberty for any that are unsatisfied with his designe to passe freely from him, with bag and baggage which, only one major and 30 common souldiers have laid hold on.

Wednesdays pacquet told us by some letters of dissatisfaction in Portsmouth with the present proceedings but better satisfaction since received; others of Portsmouth and Hull standing neutrall; others of Colonel Evelyn having seized Portsmouth,<sup>2</sup> and Colonel Morley having since gott in thither also. This dayes letters (so far as I yet know) having not seen what accompts your lady has received, says not a word of all this.

By report from Dover (though we have no mention of it in London letters) we have it that there is a guard of redcoats upon the lord mayor of London, if so, probably tis upon their common councell met to heare and answer Moncks letter,<sup>3</sup> mentioned in their last print; I have advise that some designe the restoring of the Rump parliament, others the old parliament in 1648; all together shewes great confusion and distraction, whereof if wee were in posture to lay hold seasonably, I should think our way were not difficult to those good ends all honest men aime at from whence I take the boldness to beg of your lordship to let us know here how you finde forrain supplies in a readiness to comply with the posture of affaires at home. If your

<sup>1</sup> See, on the treaty, Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 584, and *The Clarke papers*, iv (1901), 97 *et seq.*; on Monck's dealings with the representatives of the shires and boroughs of Scotland, Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 585; *The Clarke papers*, iv (1901), 113 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> 3 Dec. 1659. Sir Arthur Hesilrige and Colonel Walton and Colonel Morley entered Portsmouth and persuaded the governor, Colonel Nathaniel Whetham and the garrison to declare for the parliament (*The Clarke papers*, iv (1901), 169, n. 1; Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 157). Colonel Evelyn was not involved.

<sup>3</sup> See note 2 to *supra*, no. 155.

lordship finde there can be a suddaine transport of forraigne force, and that Kent or those parts will be the place, at least for a considerable part of them to London, I beg of your lordship to consider, that being my place of birth habitation and relations (when the King shall have so adjusted his affaires, as to be able to give them orders, and a time of drawing into armes, whether I may not be usefull there (if any where) in disposing those parts into a ready compliance with his Majesties desires. And if you think I may be usefully imployed there, I beseech you take your time and way, of representing to his Majesty my readinesse to obey any command wherein I may best serve him, which upon your first sumons I shall be ready to post away to receive, either at Parris, or rather on the way hither, where I hope his Majesties businesse may presently require him, or to be otherwise disposed, as his Majesty or your lordship shall think fitt, for I have a great zeale to have my way chalked out, how I may add my poore mite, to that great treasure of succours, which I hope is now flowing in to his Majestie and particularly to have occasion to shew your lordship how much, and how cordially, I am, your lordships most faithfull and humble servant, Jn. Heath.

167. The King to ———<sup>1</sup> [*blank in MS.*].

*Colombe, 26 Nov./6 Dec. 1659.*—That the whole world may be satisfied I preferre the peace and tranquillity of my nations, before any thing of animosity or revenge, and that I am desirous to gaine the good opinion and affections of all those who have been either misled or can but forgive themselves of their undertakings against me, I have thought it necessary to give particular demonstration of these my intentions to you, and being satisfied that you are desirous to repaire all former faults, by some considerable attempt in order to my restoration, I assure you that I shall not only accept and look upon your endeavours and overtures as very great testimonies of your loyaltie and affections to me, but I shall be ready to give you all satisfaction you shall require, both as to your person and fortune. And having great assurances of the fidelity of my Lord Mordaunt the person I intend this by, I assure you whatsoever he shall undertake for me, to your self or any of your friends, I will readily ratifie it, answerable to his engagement and shall contynue, your affectionate friend, Charles R.

168. Lord Mordaunt to Sir Charles Howard.

*Colombe, 26 Nov./6 Dec. 1659.*—Cosin, Had I known the reasonable demands you propose for so handsome an undertaking,<sup>2</sup> long ere this you had received satis-

<sup>1</sup> Probably the draft of a letter to Sir Charles Howard. See *infra*, no. 168. See also *Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 587, for a draft by Hyde of 6/16 March 1659–60. The King arrived at Colombe 25 Nov./5 Dec. 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 456). 'Cologne' is written in the margin of the text in a later hand, but the letter was clearly written from Colombe.

<sup>2</sup> *Sir Charles Howard*. 2 Nov. released from imprisonment for complicity in Booth's rising (*supra*, p. 11, n. 2). His offer to the King was apparently to gain for him the garrisons of Berwick, Carlisle, Newcastle and Tynemouth, of the governorship of which he had been deprived in May 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 552). This he succeeded in doing (*The Clarke papers*, iv (1901), 303). He was appointed governor of Carlisle by Monck (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 609) and in 1661 created earl of Carlisle.

faction in it, my master having left full power to me in all things of that nature. And indeed when I mentioned it to him, he conceived you never stood in need of such assurance as to future indemnity.

But cosine you will find his own sence clearer, by what he sayes himself and therefore I need say no more but that in what ever I may serve you, you may very freely command, your humble servant, Mordaunt.

The particulars I refer you to the gentleman<sup>1</sup> gives you this.

#### 169. The King to William Prynne.<sup>2</sup>

*Colombe, 26 Nov./6 Dec. 1659.*—I have not only received particular information of your great services and indefatigable endeavours to awaken my people of England from that deplorable condition they have run themselves into, but have had the perusall of some of your labours myself; And I must beleieve that the efficacy of your pen has been so prevalent in the discovery of such dark designs, that it has and will much facilitate my restoration. I question not but you will continue the same good inclinations, and proceed to the effecting of that good work you have begun and you may depend that I shall not only readily acknowledge all your good intentions to me, but I shall on all occasions, be ready to reward your zealous undertakings for which I assure you that I am your very affectionate friend, Charles R.

#### 170. Hartgill Baron to Lady Mordaunt.

*Colombe, 26 Nov./6 Dec. 1659.*—Madam, I am commanded by my lord (fearing that he shall not be able for his great occasions to doe it himself) to let you know that last night he was 3 houres with my master,<sup>3</sup> and he has received all the satisfaction and kindness imaginable and you need not at all to scruple, but my lord may have what he desires. Though I finde many little malicious unkindnesses here against my lord by some of those who hate everything that is more loyall and more virtuous then themselves, yet their intended little prejudices will rebound on themselves, and take my word madam, if you beleieve that I know anything, my lord is above all their malice, and the King will own him against the practises, and contrivances of knots or any other such petty designers. The King arrived here yesterday and I suppose staves not above 6 or 8 dayes, which I shall beg your ladyship to informe Mr. Nicholls; And as for Mr. Heath he shall be sure to know an account of his desires the next post, it cannot possibly be done now, for I cannot speak with the King time enough this morning the post going forth at 10 of the clock, and my lord is gone at 7 this morning

<sup>1</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>2</sup> *William Prynne* (1600–69), lawyer and controversialist. Son of Thomas Prynne of Swainswick, Somerset. Imprisoned by the Star Chamber 1633–37, and by the Commonwealth 1650–53 for his writings; M.P. for Newport, Cornwall, Nov. 1648; excluded Dec. 1648. He was refused re-admission to parliament in May 1659 (*The Nicholas papers*, iv (1920), 134–5), and from then till the restoration, in numerous pamphlets denounced the rule of the Rump and of the army, and demanded a restoration of monarchy and a free parliament. For a list of his pamphlets in 1659–60, to which the King here alludes, see Kirby, *W. Prynne* (1931), pp. 202–5. *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> The King arrived at Colombe 25 Nov./5 Dec.; he saw Lord Mordaunt, who was lodged by Lord Jermyn, the same night (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 456).



from the King to my lord lieutenant to Paris <sup>1</sup> and had not time enough last night to discourse half his businesse.

I must beg your pardon for not writing by the last post, for it went out of Paris half an houre before we arrived there which was Wensday last. My lord was with Mareschall Tureine, and received with all kindnesse and to give my lord greater testimony of it he lent him his coach and six horses <sup>2</sup> to carry him all night to hasten him to Parris.

I cannot now enlarge more for feare this should not finde a passage, for the coach goes away at ten of the clock this morning and I must send it immediately away to Paris. I have no more now, only the King has great hopes of his business, and your ladyship will suddenly heare by expresse to whose turne it will fall, I know not but I shall wave it if possible in obedience to your commands to continue with my lord. I need say nothing of my great service and thanks I have for your ladyship for all favours but I must say I am and alwayes will be, Madam, your most faithfull servant, Jo: Jones.<sup>3</sup>

#### 171. Lord Mordaunt to Lady Mordaunt.

*Colombe, 26 Nov./6 Dec. 1659.*—My ever deare, My master is so kinde to me, that I am perfectly ashamed, he calls me friend, and has received such satisfaction by my discourse and letters, as I dare not expresse. I am the best quartered of any body and my Lord Jermin treats me dinner <sup>4</sup> and supper. The Queen is very obliging too; I want my letters out of England extreemly, and correspondence; pray take order in it, and send mee money. You must not take it ill I write no more. I am perfectly well and the grim Monsieur <sup>5</sup> I wot used me like his child, sent his coach and 6 horses all night with me. Tell Mr. Heath he must not take it ill I write not to him now but by the next he shall know the Kings pleasure.

If any thing of great consequence arrive, send an expresse.<sup>6</sup>

#### 172. Sir Edward Hyde to Lord Mordaunt.

*Brussels, 26 Nov./6 Dec. 1659.*—My <sup>7</sup> very good lord, Yours of the 26 of October upon your arrivall at London came not to my hands till last weeke by the way of Antwerp, to the particulars whereof I need now say but little presuming that all mine are come to your hands. And I am not out of hope that your lordship being informed by honest Mr. Jones <sup>8</sup> of the Kings coming this way, that this may find you at Parris, which I wish both for your own satisfaction which you will receive from the King and thereby judge what winterworke you are like to have, and for the information his Majestie will receive from you, for I do not yet think his Majestie is enough informed

<sup>1</sup> Mordaunt went the next day with Hartgill Baron to Paris to meet the marquis of Ormonde (*ibid.*).

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, no. 171.

<sup>3</sup> Pseudonym for Hartgill Baron.

<sup>4</sup> Mordaunt was lodged by Lord Jermyn (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 456).

<sup>5</sup> Marshal Turenne, see *supra*, no. 170.

<sup>6</sup> The letter is unsigned.

<sup>7</sup> Clarendon MSS., vol. lxvii, fos. 54-5, 26 Nov./6 Dec. 1659. Draft by Bulteaule.

<sup>8</sup> Hartgill Baron.

how far he is from having received a blow considerable by the last misfortune, and how well prepared and resolved his friends still continue to be.

If you have not had the good fortune to speak with the King <sup>1</sup> in his passage, and that he makes hast hither, I doubt it will put you to the trouble of a journey to Bruxells, since upon your experience and observations of things and persons there, and what may have occurred to us, it will be a very hard matter for you to receive all necessary advertizements for a return into England, where I perceive by our last letters from our friends, who I presume give you more particulars, there seems hopes of having shortly somewhat to doe. Yet I confesse to you I could heartily wish that this seeming agreement and accomodation <sup>2</sup> had not been made by the armies, for though it is hard to beleieve, that any thing solid towards a peace can be built upon that foundation, but rather that the confusion will increase thereby, there being matter enough to discontent all parties yet it makes a present noise of an agreement between those who the world beleeves not apt to fall out one with an other. And so gives them some present reputation both at home and abroad, and therefore I wish and so I send all our friends word, that all art and industry should be used to widen the breach, and to make all difference to appeare espetially to keep up the jelousies so farr that Lambert may finde it necessary to contynue in the north and not to march southwards.

I heare most of our friends are againe at liberty, and I would be glad to find that your lordship had spoken with any of them, and find them of the same mettle they use to be, and whether you have the same confidence of Lynn which you use to have.

I must now tell you a particular which will be worth somewhat of your care, for I think we are all concerned in this calumniating age, to support the credit of those whom we finde very willing and very able to serve the King, and God knows the number is not soe great that we can spare any. I find by some letters I have received (whether the information arise from England or from these parts I know not) that there is some paynes taken to traduce poore Titus, as if he were transported to assume so much to himself as to detract from others; which I must professe to all men, except he be the greatest dissembler in the world (and I do beleieve he hath spent more houres with me since his returne then with any man), he is as far from both as ever I knew any body, sets the least valew upon himself, and gives the greatest testimony of others; nor have I ever heard him mention any body negligently, but some of the presbiterians, with whom indeed he is very angry, somethings they charge him with and upon my conscience are more angry with him for then for any thing els, of which I can be his compurgator, and morally sweare he is very innocent.

I do commend him to your lordships protection not only for justice sake, but as a person that in some degree you are obliged to be kind to for his just respects towards you which to my knowledge he manifests upon all occasions. And upon my conscience will engage his life at any time to that occasion, and I doe this the more

<sup>1</sup> Mordaunt replied to this letter on 1/11 Dec. from Colombe (*C.S.P.*, iii. 626-7; *infra*, no. 178).

<sup>2</sup> Hyde is referring to the agreement between the commissioners of Monck and Fleetwood on 15 Nov. 1659 (*The Clarke papers*, iv (1901), 116, n. 2; Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 588).

willingly, because I am confident he does not in the least degree suspect that any of these ill arts are used to his prejudice, and of which you may possibly heare more then I doe.

I have not heard from your lordship<sup>1</sup> since your return to Callais which I only mention least some letters have miscarried, for our communication by way of Bergh is not yet well settled. Duke of York came hither unexpected on Wensday, and they say returns againe to Breda within two or 3 dayes. I very humbly kisse my ladies hands, and am very faithfully, my very good lord, your lordships most affectionate and most obedient servant, Edw. Hide.

### 173. Lady Mary Carey<sup>2</sup> to Lady Mordaunt.

8 Dec. 1659.—Dear Madame, To heare from you was ever very pleasing to me but never more then now, your chearfullnesse infusing a new life into me, which I want enough, my own temper inclining me ever to feare more then hope things I much desire and though expectations take away from most fruitions, yet the joy I should have for your returne, will be too great to admitt of any allay.

You will be therefore charitable as well as kinde if some times you let me receive a lyne or two from you ; and tell me whether or no I ought to raise my heart which is not so wholly taken up with generall affaires, as not to be very sensibly glad that your master is so just to your friend, who so well merits his favours, that time will without doubt silence those that most envie him ; in the interim I know both your spirits are much above receiving trouble from any effects of malice that may rise and therefore think it not worthy the concerne of your friends, which number is so great that if you ranke them in your favour according to their merit, I feare my share will be very little ; But if kindnesse take any place I will hope one more considerable. For I may with confidence affirme few in the world are more your ladyships affectionate humble servant then your cosin, Ma: Cary.

### 174. The King to — [blank in MS.].

28 Nov./8 Dec. 1659.—Having<sup>3</sup> a deeper sence of the miseries and slaveries you groane under then of my unjust and barbarous usage, and being thoroughly satisfied with your inclinations, zeale and interest, I have thought it requisit to apply the gentlest remedies to remove the impending ruine of the nation. And looking upon my restoration as most happy if effected by myne own subjects with as little forraigne assistance as may be, I have given instructions to my Lord Mordaunt (who represents most of the engagements in England to me) to let you know my resolutions, and I desire you to credit what he delivers as my commands, being very confident of his fidelity to me, and you may depend upon whatsoever he engages upon my behalf, that

<sup>1</sup> Hyde had evidently not received Mordaunt's letter to him of 15/25 Nov. (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 447).

<sup>2</sup> *Lady Mary Carey* was the daughter of Henry Carey 4th Lord Hunsdon and in 1627 earl of Dover. She was the cousin of the Hon. Thomas Carey, father of Lady Mordaunt.

<sup>3</sup> Like *supra*, no. 167, is a draft of a letter from Charles II to be used by Lord Mordaunt.

I will ratifie it and requite your handsom endeavours, being your most affectionate friend, Charles R.

175. General Schomberg to — [blank in MS.].

*Undated.*—Monsieur,<sup>1</sup> Ayant vu par les lettres de Madame Mordaunt que le Roy peut estre arrive presentement a Paris, j'ay mye a propos de prendre ce temps pour m'avancer vers la voir Monsieur de Turenne et vous despescher en chemin mon secretaire pour vous en donner advis, affen qu'en cas que le Roy desire que je l'aille trouver a Paris, vous me le mendiez. Je prendray le pretext d'y avoir des affaires particulaires. Si le Roy estoit desja en chemin pour Brusselles ou prest a partir, si vous me mendez ou je le pourray rencontrer, je prendray la traverse jusques a Peronne. Je n'escris pas a personne de ceux qui sont autour de luy, mon entention estant de ne communiquer a personne que nous avons quelque correspondance, mais une cognoissance qui est venue de Callais en attendant que j'aye l'honneur de vous voir pour ne pas perdre de temps, il est important que vous advertisez le Roy que Mons. Barkley<sup>2</sup> presse Mons. Nicols au nom du duc de York de negotier et haster l'entreprise sur mon voisinage et a presse Nugent de luy dire son commerce, lequel n'avion voillu (voulu) advouer, je voix que Nicolls continue et par son empressement pourra perdre l'affaire, si le Roy ne prend les mesures qu'il jugera le plus a propose promptement. J'ay fait sortir de prisons sur ma paroll le Capitaine que le Gouverneur de St. Omer<sup>3</sup> m'a envoye pour le terme de huit jours.

Madame m'a dit que le mauvois temps impeche Baron de passer la mer, elle l'attendait le meme jour. Les derniers arrivez de Londres disent que Fleetwood ayant menace le maire, de ceque la citte refusoit de payer les taxes,<sup>4</sup> il luy a respondu que bien esloigne de pouvoir obliger les peuples a cela, il les trouvoient tellement ennemis des changements et brouilleries, que avoit bien de la peine a l'empacher qu'il ne ce (se) souleva contre ceux qui les veulent obliger a payer les taxations. J'attendres de vous nouvelles a Amiens presse de Monsieur de Turenne, lequel attend des nouvelles de la cour pour y aller en diligence. Je ne doubte pas que le Roy n'en soit averty et qu'il aura pris ses mesures sur les conjunctures ou il auroit pu estre util. Je suis, Monsieur, vostre tres humble et tres obeissant serviture, Schomberg.

176. Lord Mordaunt to the marquis of Ormonde.

29 Nov./9 Dec. 1659.—My lord,<sup>5</sup> Both from his Majesties mouth and letters I have received encouragements to ask somthing considerable, which will render my

<sup>1</sup> Evidently to Lord Mordaunt.

<sup>2</sup> In his letter of 6/16 Nov. to the King, Schomberg complained of ill offices done to himself by Lord Berkeley (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 270).

<sup>3</sup> Possibly the Captain Barber whose release Colonel Nugent had tried to secure (*supra*, no. 160).

<sup>4</sup> Bordeaux in his letter to Mazarin of 17/27 Nov. reports the refusal of the citizens of London to pay their taxes (Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, ii, 290).

<sup>5</sup> The letter is wrongly dated in the MS. The original in Mordaunt's hand is in the Carte MSS., vol. xxx, fo. 466, and is clearly dated 'Brussels, 8 Jan. 1659-60'. In the old style of dating this would be 29 Dec. 9 Dec. is a clerical error for 29 Dec.

pretence to the great honor of his bedchamber excusable at least. I know, my lord, you will permit me to tell you my very heart, and I doe it sincerely when I assure your lordship the greatest satisfaction I am capable of will be being near the Kings person, and in this conceive my inclinations are not unseasonable, being I shall receive such an addition of reputation by it, as will put me in a capacity of serving his Majestie more considerably then I have yet done, as much of the interest I have, being built upon their opinion of the Kings goodnesse and kindnesse to me, as upon my honesty and integrity to them.

For what concerns my particular I in part told your lordship and shall only add this passage of my last parting with my mother, she told me if she found the King considered me, there was no inconvenience, she would not put her self to to assist me, but if she found the contrary, she was resolved not to straighten herself, and therefore she commanded me to se if I could remove the ill fortune from my family, by having that conferred upon me was refused . . .<sup>1</sup>

Really my lord, though this be no good argument to move the King to it, tis a charitable one, for [*blank in MS.*] severity to my wife is too much known. My lord, if his Majestie out of his great goodnesse pleases to graunt it (which I hope he will) I shall have the advantage by it of a present subsistance, a vawle his favour will put upon me, from all those I shall treat with, a joy unexpressable to finde his Majestie considers me beyond my merit, a heightened resolution, of doing something remarkable, to show at least, I endeavour to deserve the great honour he pleases to do me.

For what concerns my returnes to your lordship for your care and favours towards me and mine since I cannot make them now, you are to challenge them whensoever I am so happy as to have the least occasion given me to manifest my self. My lord, your most humble &c.<sup>2</sup>

#### 177. Lord Mordaunt to Sir Edward Nicholas.

29 Nov./9 Dec. 1659.—Sir, You see I foresaw the breach which was the thing poynted at in your last<sup>3</sup>; I wish wee doe not loose so visible an advantage by delayes here, and communicating with too many. I feare you will finde we must depend on England and our friends there, for by the accompt the King is pleased to give me, I finde no certainty of assistance from hence. Here is a great want of you, pray God it prove not fatall, for I must confesse I am against communicating with those doe not engage to assist us.<sup>4</sup>

If my lord chancellor were here this resolution had not been taken; but I must obey when the King commands, though as to what I am tyed up, I will dye secret.

I am ashamed at the honors and favours the King shews me, and can promise nothing on my part, but honest integrity which will render me still, your faithfull friend and most humble servant, Mordaunt.

<sup>1</sup> Mordaunt's mother, the dowager countess of Peterborough, wished him to secure from the King, the office of gentleman of the bedchamber (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 278).

<sup>2</sup> In the Mordaunt MS. the letter is unsigned.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Edward Nicholas to Lord Mordaunt 23 Nov./3 Dec. 1659. *supra*, no 163.

<sup>4</sup> Mordaunt is alluding to the King's decision to submit to Cardinal Mazarin a memorandum on the situation of the royalist party in England, based on the information brought by Mordaunt (*Carte, Ormonde*, iii. 697).

## 178. Lord Mordaunt to Sir Edward Hyde.

[29 Nov./9 Dec. 1659.—Thanks <sup>1</sup> him for the justification of himself in Hyde's last to Lord Ormonde.<sup>2</sup> Does not know how writer and Hyde provoked the malice of the Knot. Knows a lady who will be not pleased that his affairs and Hyde's are so linked together, but her daughter is of another opinion.<sup>3</sup> Knows that Hyde has received from Ormonde an account of transactions since they left Brussels. Is disappointed at the little progress made especially in relation to France. The King has asked Mordaunt to state his affairs in England in writing to communicate to the French ministers. Mordaunt did not approve the proposal, suggested to the King that Mr. Fanshawe <sup>4</sup> should draft it, but the latter equally averse. Mordaunt is obliged to write the account, but will omit names and be cautious. Considers the King needed Hyde and the secretary there to advise him. The King's business in England is ripening too fast for these slow councils. Mordaunt ends with a warm tribute to the usefulness of Hyde and Ormonde to the King's service.<sup>5</sup>]

## 179. Lord Mordaunt to Lady Mordaunt.

*Colombe*, 29 Nov./9 Dec. 1659.—My true joye, I think I have behaved my self as I should, for all the world, men women and children are civill to me. My Lord Jermin is so obliging I cannot express it; my lord lieutenant <sup>6</sup> really my friend, and one I expect all good offices from, yet am very unwilling to owe any obligation for my particular advantage, to any but the King himself, who shewes such great marks of esteeme, trust and confidence in me, that it vexes some to their hearts.

The want of a secretary lyes heavy on me but I am well though I stir no further then the court which is next my lodgings, and that is the very best in towne. I gave your letter to Sir Robert Murray <sup>7</sup> who is civill but never came to see me. I spoke for Charles Lyttleton, but the King took it ill he never wayted <sup>8</sup>; what this stay here

<sup>1</sup> Printed in full in *C.S.P.*, iii. 626–7 (Clarendon MSS., vol. lxvii, fos. 89–90), under the date 1/11 Dec. 1659. The printed version omits a postscript in the Clarendon MS., but not in the Mordaunt MS. It runs, 'I have just now received your lordships of the 6th instant, and shall never fail of being kindly to Mr. Titus'. Partly deciphered cipher.

<sup>2</sup> Hyde's letters to Ormonde of 19/29 Nov. and 26 Nov./6 Dec. (*Carte, Ormonde papers*, ii. 283–90), though they mention Mordaunt, do not justify him.

<sup>3</sup> An allusion to Mordaunt's mother-in-law, *Lady I...*, widow of Sir Edward Herbert, the Attorney-general who died in 1658. Hyde had not been on good terms with him (*Clarendon, Hist.*, xiv, 70, 74). Lady Herbert was of the faction supporting the duke of York (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv, 179). Lady Mordaunt was her daughter by her first husband the Hon. Thomas Carey, and was on good terms with Hyde.

<sup>4</sup> On Richard Fanshawe, see *supra*, no. 36, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> In the Mordaunt MS., the letter is unsigned.

<sup>6</sup> The marquis of Ormonde (*supra*, no. 10, n. 4).

<sup>7</sup> *Sir Robert Murray or Moray* (d. 1673), royalist son of Sir Mungo Moray of Craigie, Perthshire. Served first in the French army, then in the King's forces in England in the first civil war and in Scotland in 1653; from 1654 in exile at Maestricht and in 1659 in Paris (*The Nicholas papers*, iv (1920), 120, 144). He was a presbyterian, brother-in-law to Alexander Lindsay, earl of Balcarres.

<sup>8</sup> *Charles Lyttleton* had hoped to meet the King at Blois on his way to Colombe, but Charles II did not go to Blois, and Lyttleton did not see him till 22 Nov. near Orleans (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv, 451, 460).

will tend to God knows, I am secure on all sides, and will keep myself so. Myne owne affaires I intend to put in my Lord Ormonds hands, he likes not to doe it now because you are not here ; and a refusall would not much please me, yet to satisfie, I will put it to a push.

Pray hast all letters to me are of concerne, for the want of them has very much prejudiced me already. I have been perswaded to buy noe<sup>1</sup> clothes and I am heartily sorry for it. I pray for my dearest. Pray for me and believe me ever, &c.<sup>2</sup>

#### 180. The King to William Prynne.

[*Colombe*, 29 Nov./9 Dec. 1659.—This is the same letter as no. 169.]

#### 181. Sir Edward Hyde to Lord Mordaunt.

29 Nov./9 Dec. 1659.—My very good lord, I am heartily glad that I wrot so luckily to you by the last French post under cover to Mr. Church who I am confident hath presented it to you, and two houres after I had sent it away, I received your lordships favour<sup>3</sup> of the 25 of the last month from Callais which hath made me a little melancolie, and wish you and I had an hours conference together which upon my conscience would enable us to finde out some idle people who would faine create misunderstandings.

I cannot for my life comprehend what is the cause of the trouble you were in when you writ this letter, as if there were a people that would make ill impressions concerning your lordship, which upon my faith I doe not know one person alive who endeavors ; And if I did he would quickly know that he would have no successe in that machination.

What I have writ from hence hath proceeded purely from some expressions in your own letters, which made me feare that our friends in England might want the patience that in this conjuncture is necessary, and make some attempt before they could be seconded from hence.

I doubt not but before this time you have received full satisfaction from the King himself in all that possibly can concerne your self, and I do believe that no man who served him as he ought to doe, can be without a singular esteem, of your lordship for what you have done and what you haue suffered for him. I am sure you shall have the evidence I can give you whilst I live that I had so and that I am with very great passion, etc.<sup>4</sup>

#### 182. The marquis of Ormonde to Lord Mordaunt.

29 Nov./9 Dec. 1659.—My lord, I conceive you may be more ready, or at least more full to make the paper<sup>5</sup> compleat, when you have received the letters of this day

<sup>1</sup> 'Noe' in MS. but probably a clerical error, for 'new'.

<sup>2</sup> The letter is unsigned.

<sup>3</sup> Mordaunt to Hyde. Calais 15/25 Nov. 1659 (Clarendon MSS., vol. lxvi, fos. 271 b-c). Printed in C.S.P., iii. 623-4, dated 5 Dec. 1659. No. 181 is a reply to that letter.

<sup>4</sup> In the Mordaunt MS. the letter is unsigned.

<sup>5</sup> Ormonde refers to the memorandum for Cardinal Mazarin which Mordaunt had been ordered to draft (*supra*, no. 177, n. 4).

from England and Flanders. I am perhaps the more willing to think so, because I have businesse that will require my stay here, till to-morrow unless the King command me the contrary. In the morning I will bring with me all I can gather and till then you may keep up your paper without great inconvenience. Your lordships most faithfull humble servant, Ormond.

### 183. Sir Edward Hyde to Lady Mordaunt.

*Brussels, 29 Nov./9 Dec. 1659.*—Madam, I have received your ladyships favour of the 2nd by Mr. Baron, and am very glad I was so fortunate as to write to my lord your husband by the last post to Paris upon an imagination that he would be there the meet<sup>1</sup> the King, where I am confident he hath received much satisfaction. We know not how it comes to passe but our french letters are not yet arrived, though they have not come so late this twelve months, so that we know nothing yet of the Kings purposes, and when he intends to be here. I beg your ladyships favour that my lord may receive the enclosed, and that you will believe me to be at your disposall as, Madam, your ladyships most humble and obedient servant, Edward Hide.

### 184. Hartgill Baron to Lady Mordaunt.

*Colombe, 29 Nov./9 Dec. 1659.*—Madam, I had the honour of yours by the last post. I gave your ladyship the trouble of some lynes from me the post before<sup>2</sup> in which I gave your ladyship an account of my not writing before. But I shall now continue the trouble of a letter to you by every post. I shall Madam, take all care I can imaginable of my lord here, and wish I was as capable to advise and serve him as I am desirous, but however nothing shall be wanting in me, neither shall I scruple at anything which I think may tend to his advantage. My lord chancellor hath written highly hither against the Knot and R.N. and as highly in vindication of my lord Mordaunt, in which he has done my lord a great kindnesse.<sup>3</sup> But take my word, Madam, all the little projects, though interwoven with never so much little malice, will fall to dirt, and in conclusion it will rebound against themselves, for the King has so great kindnesse for my lord, that he is above all their intended prejudices. I shall not (take my word) spare at all [*blank in MS.*] and I know it will looke with a better face from me than from my lord. I think I have done pretty well already, but I have something more which I intend to do to-morrow. I think the King intends in a few dayes to leave France and I suppose my lord and I shall see Callais, though he goes on to Flanders afterwards. I find my lords modesty is so great that he scruples to forward his own businesse,<sup>4</sup> but I have importuned him very much in it, and I shall not desist in it till it is done, for I conceive the opportunity faire and my lord has dayly encouragements in order to it from the King and my lord Ormonde.

<sup>1</sup> There is a gap in the text, the meaning is clearly 'to meet', possibly a place-name is omitted.

<sup>2</sup> Hartgill Baron to Lady Mordaunt. 26 Nov./6 Dec. 1659 (*supra*, no. 170).

<sup>3</sup> The reference is to Hyde's letter of 19/29 Nov. to Ormonde, criticising Richard Nicolls and the Sealed Knot for their adherence to Sir Richard Willis (*Carte, Ormonde papers*, ii. 283-8).

<sup>4</sup> The application for the post of gentleman of the King's bedchamber, which Baron thought he should obtain (*Cal. S.P. Dom*, 1659-60, p. 278).



I have no more trouble to give your ladyship at this time but to assure you I am and ever will be, Madam, your ladyships most obedient servant.<sup>1</sup>

#### 185. The Princess — to Lady Mordaunt.

29 Nov./9 Dec. 1659.—Ma chere, After <sup>2</sup> being so long without the happiness of hearing from your ladyship, you may easily imagine the delight your letter gave me, since you know the purity of my affection and respect to you, which is really of such a nature as can receive no diminution. I am now in a place where I have often had the contentment of wayting on your ladyship and that I cannot now receive it is very uneasy to me, yet I will hope my being owned to the good fortune of seeing you suddenly here. I do looke upon it as an effect of myne, that you are firmly perswaded that I am your most faithfull servant and affectionate chere.<sup>3</sup>

#### 186. Sir Herbert <sup>4</sup> Lunsford to Lord Mordaunt.

Abbeville, 29 Nov./9 Dec. 1659.—My lord, Although I am assured you cannot be without many pressing affaires where you are yet I cannot omit the presenting my humble duty to your lordship, I writ to my noble lady about your commands concerning Captain Barber,<sup>5</sup> but received no answer this post. The news books gives us better newes this post then the last. I wish it may draw their forces more northward, as in probability it will ; I impatiently wait your commands, and much doubt protraction of time will frustrate a most glorious enterprise. I would willingly have the honor of kissing his Majesties hands if I knew when and where is the most proper, but I leave that and all other my concernes to the favour of your lordship under whose protection I desire all my interest may be sheltered, I being most passionately, your most obedient humble servant, H. L.

#### 187. Sir Edward Nicholas to Lord Mordaunt.

Brussels, 30 Nov./10 Dec. 1659.—My very good lord,<sup>6</sup> I am fully of your lordships opinion in yours of the 11<sup>7</sup> instant, that there ought not to be so much freedome in communicating his Majesties affaires and designes with those that forbear to engage

<sup>1</sup> The MS. is unsigned.

<sup>2</sup> The writer is possibly *Princess Sophia of the Palatinate* (1630–1714), wife of Prince Ernest Augustus of Brunswick-Lüneburg, who is described by her mother, Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia, as the friend of Lady Mordaunt, in a letter to the latter (*supra*, no. 59). Sophia spent the autumn at The Hague (Green, *Elizabeth Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia* (1909 edn.), p. 396).

<sup>3</sup> The MS. is unsigned. <sup>4</sup> Incorrectly described in the heading to the letter as 'Sir Henry'.

<sup>5</sup> See *supra*, no. 160, n. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Calendared in part down to 'elsewhere' (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, pp. 279–80) ; Flanders correspondence, shorthand draft. 10/20 Dec. Brussels. (Sec. Nicholas) to Lord Mordaunt, endorsed 'copy of what I writ in reple to Lord Viscount Mordaunt'. The correct date of the letter is 30 Nov./10 Dec. 1659. It was written before the arrival of Charles II in Brussels on 16/26 Dec. (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 489).

<sup>7</sup> See Mordaunt to Hyde, 1/11 Dec. 1659 (*supra*, no. 178, *C.S.P.*, iii. 626–7).

to assist him ; for besides other disadvantages and inconveniencys, it will expose his Majesties counsellors to censure, as too open and inconsiderate.

I could wish his Majestie were here nearer his worke, for his absence makes these ministers<sup>1</sup> slow and remisse. But I hope his delay proceeds from something he may be there negotiating in order to the advancement of his great businesse. And if Marshal Turaine may have countenance or connivance from the French court, his affection and forwardnesse to assist the King will be of singular advantage, and may possibly beget an emulation in these ministers for to act with the more vigour.

I did not see Mr. N:<sup>2</sup> when he was here, he kept himself very retired among the D: Ys.<sup>3</sup> family, only he came once or twice, privatly to lord chancellor by the D. Ys. order,<sup>4</sup> for ought I have heard by others, he is one of those that hath a better opinion of Sir R. W.<sup>5</sup> then he deserves ; I am very glad that the King doth himself so much right, as to let your lordship find the great valew he deservedly and justly sets on your singular merit, in his most important concernments.

I hope I may have the honor to se your lordship here when his Majesty comes, unlesse some of your own or of his Majesties weighty occasions draw you elsewhere.<sup>6</sup> Some of our last letters from England say that the countyes of Wilts, Berks, and Hampshire have engaged to each other to pay no more excise taxes or contributions without order of parliament, and I hope other countyes will follow their example.

The city of London is preparing to have a militia and guards of their own,<sup>7</sup> and held on yesterday was sevenight a general fast in London by the sole appoyntment and order of the lord mayor and common counsell for Gods blessing on their good designes. Many of the apprentices doe boldly say that as their predecessors did help to drive out the father, so they are resolved to bring home the sonne. God give them grace and courage to doe so.

Since the losse of Funen<sup>8</sup> its reported and written from Holland that the King of Sweads is faln dangerously sick, with anguish and displeasure for the losse of so many of his best and most considerable troopes and officers. Some also say (but I know not how truly) that the Sweads forces are withdrawn from before Copenhagen, which I wish true. I shall now add no more to your lordships trouble, but my assurance of being ever with much truth, My lord, your lordships most humble servant, E. N.

r88. Colonel Nugent to — [blank in MS.].

*Undated.*—Sir, I have not anything to add to my former letters more then that

<sup>1</sup> The head of the Spanish government in Brussels was Don Juan de Fromesta, marquis of Caracena. <sup>2</sup> 'Mr. Nichols' in the copy by Nicholas.

<sup>3</sup> 'D. Yorks' in the copy by Nicholas, that is the duke of York.

<sup>4</sup> This is an allusion to Mr. Nicolls' interview with Hyde, reported in Hyde's letter to Ormonde of 19/29 Nov. 1659 (*Carte, Ormonde papers*, ii. 284-5).

<sup>5</sup> Sir Richard Willis.

<sup>6</sup> The rest of the letter is omitted in the copy by Nicholas.

<sup>7</sup> The fast was ordered by the lord mayor on 23 Nov. to take place on 2 Dec. (*Sharpe, London and the kingdom* (1894), ii. 358). The petition of the apprentices to the common council was presented on 5 Dec. and followed by a riot in the city (*ibid.* ; *The Clarke papers*, iv (1901), 166).

<sup>8</sup> On 23 Nov. 1659 all the Swedish forces in Funen surrendered after their defeat by the Dutch and Danish armies (*Cal. S.P. Venetian*, 1659-61 (1931), p. 102). Charles X of Sweden reigned from 1654 till his death in Feb. 1660.

all goes well at Mrs. Dorothy's<sup>1</sup> as you can desire, yet I feare if Mr. Erbery<sup>2</sup> comes not speedily to court her, she will be hardly spoken with hereafter, for this day I received letters from a good hand that we must part hence bagg and baggage about the 4 or 5 of January so as you are to adverzize Mr. Erbery with speed, this is all but that my nephew and I are yours for ever, N.

### 189. Lord Mordaunt's account for Cardinal Mazarin of the state of English affairs.

[30 Nov./10 Dec. 1659.—It<sup>3</sup> is desirable for the Cardinal to consider the present position of Great Britain and to compare it with the situation previously when the King of France connived at assistance being furnished to the King of England by Marshal Turenne.

In the case of Sir George Booth's rising, he was not enough supported; the army found it possible to suppress all intended risings and Booth himself failed to secure Chester Castle. Scotland was kept down and the so-called parliament governed the three nations.

Now the parliament has been dissolved by the army, but that is divided and there is a possibility of the army of England being at war with the army in Scotland before the King can land. Monck has convoked the Scotch estates. In England, the King's party desperate now to attempt deliverance with competent help before their enemies return. This report is made by the nobleman<sup>4</sup> commissioned by the King to knit together the organisation for the late rising, who rose himself near London, had to escape to France, returned disguised to England, and now finds leading persons there prepared to meet him.

Plans for securing Portsmouth, Exeter, Bristol, Gloucester, Lynn, Wales, the Isle of Ely. A principal officer in the Fleet has offered to make his peace with the King<sup>5</sup>; another person has pledged himself to bring off the troops in London.<sup>6</sup>

Lambert is destitute of money<sup>7</sup>; the pay of the navy is in arrears.<sup>8</sup> Windsor Castle<sup>9</sup> has been offered to be seized or delivered; the English troops in Picardy<sup>10</sup> are disposed to serve the King. There are offers of help for securing Northampton<sup>11</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> 'Mrs. Dorothy' is probably Dunkirk (*supra*, no. 165).

<sup>2</sup> 'Mr. Erbery' is probably the King (*supra*, no. 165).

<sup>3</sup> Printed in full in Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 291-6, headed 'Memoranda sent by M. of Ormonde for Cardinal Mazarin from Paris, 10 Dec. 1659'.

<sup>4</sup> Lord Mordaunt, see *supra*, no. 178.

<sup>5</sup> Probably General Montagu, who was approached by his cousin Edward Montagu in the King's interest (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 229). He brought his fleet back from the Sound without orders in Sept. 1659 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 163).

<sup>6</sup> Sir Charles Howard.

<sup>7</sup> Lambert's army was larger than Monk's but short of pay (Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 584).

<sup>8</sup> There is ample evidence of the arrears of pay in the navy (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 457; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 286).

<sup>9</sup> For the design on Windsor Castle see *infra*, no. 203.

<sup>10</sup> A reference to the plan for securing Dunkirk for the King by the help of disaffected elements in the English garrison.

<sup>11</sup> The scheme in which Sir Henry Yelverton was involved (*supra*, nos. 93, 156; and Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 227, 282).

other counties. The doubt is whether foreign aid is needed. But the King's party lacks arms and ammunition and the King needs a force of experienced soldiers with which to land. It is much to be hoped that the King of France will afford the King of England arms, ammunition and facilities for transportation. It is unfortunate that these were not enjoyed at the time of the late rupture of the parliament in England. Such action could not be prejudicial to France as the King of England will proceed with prudence in the use of any forces granted to him.]

### 190. (Edward) Carrent to Lady Mordaunt.

12 Dec. 1659.—Much honoured,<sup>1</sup> The contents of your last had I no other obligations upon me were of power sufficient to constraine me to a most strict observance of all your ladyships commands, and intire service, but believe it an impresse already made by the sence of my lord's and your particular merit, and honor, besides a duty incumbent to my prince and country hath forestalled me and created a through well settled resolution to omit no opportunity wherein I may declare by my action my candor, and integrity, so that if at any time I erre, want of intellects and abilities, rather than will, shall cause the defect. Now let me say Madam, my troubles you mention wrought no discomposure in me, they onely took up my time, my poore brother<sup>2</sup> was accidentally occasion of part, and the reducing mine own affaires into better order by some omissions and ruptures amongst my debtors much out, that was and is all I blesse our good God to whom in your prayers if I participate greater are my obligations. I extreamly rejoyce at my lords high esteeme with the King. God continue it; though duty oblige to worthy actions, yet desert rewarded becomes a patron.

As to newes I shall observe the method prescribed and now begin; Each post shall bring the best I can learne. Our cittie is very high, wee every moment expect to be in blood, our common councill are indifferent forward, and if they delay not too long have power to doe our businesse, the whole cittie being incenced against the souldier.<sup>3</sup> I heare and believe, something is moduling here which will break out in very few dayes, for long it cannot hold as it is. All men furnish themselves to be ready.

Portsmouth holds out for the Rump,<sup>4</sup> the regiment which was in Kent is drawn that way, Sir Ar. Hazlerig, Colonel Morley, Colonel Norton are there. We have nothing certaine from the North, it is given out that Lambert is returning hither to tame our cittie, others say the armyes are upon engagement.

Even now we talke of speedy action, in and about this place we want neither men nor armes, if we have hearts to use them. I think the great men of our cittie have

<sup>1</sup> Probably Edward Carrent, the writer of *infra*, nos. 202, 207, 246.

<sup>2</sup> Probably William Carrent. June 1658 order for his trial on a charge of treason (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1658-69, p. 67), again arrested Aug. 1659 on a suspicion of treason (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 128), not released till 14 Feb. 1659-60 (*ibid.*, p. 362).

<sup>3</sup> On the ill feeling between the city and the army there is ample evidence (*The Clarke papers*, iv (1901), 166, 187; Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 591).

<sup>4</sup> Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 590.

gon so far they cannot returne, but with ruine ; Fitts<sup>1</sup> is committed to the Gatehouse. Colonels Berry and Salmon have command of the Tower.<sup>2</sup>

### 191. Sir Edward Hyde to Lord Mordaunt.

3/13 Dec. 1659.—Though I write not to the King by this post, nor to any of his presuming that he will have begun his journey before our letters arrive at Paris, yet I am not confident that your lordship will come with him, which I should be heartily glad of, that many particulars may be adjusted, which possibly may not be thought of, and therefore I send this to Church, to acknowledge both your favours of the 5 and 6 which he will dispose of in that manner as may bring it soonest to your hands, and if you are againe returned to Calice, you will have found there I hope mine of the 9, which I sent to your worthy lady by an honest man, Mr. [blank in MS.] his brother<sup>3</sup> who came to Mr. Secretary from Calice, I do not enough understand the businesse of Dunkirk, either as it hath been proposed by Nugent as far as I have heard of it, or by Mr. Nicholls, to conclude it very practicable, but I presume you goe upon other grounds. I find that Mr. Nicholls, whom I doe in no degree understand, hath writt to the duke of York somewhat, but I know not what, it is as if he were troubled that you did not communicate with him upon that affaire.

I am very much troubled that I have not this weeke any letter from Mr. Rumball, and all my hopes is that he writ none. That packet, which never yet miscarried to my lady abbesse,<sup>4</sup> did not arrive this weeks. So that either none was sent, which I cannot believe, since the like never happened before, or they have seized it, and then they have interrupted the best lyne of communication we have. There be at this time a thousand projects amongst the Catholiques, who if they were all of one minde would give us much trouble. God send all men once into their witts to know what is best for themselves. I wish your lordship your hearts desire, and am very heartily, my very good lord, your lordships most affectionate humble servant, E. H.

### 192. Colonel Nugent to Lady Mordaunt.

3/13 Dec. 1659.—Madam, Yours and the enclosed I have received, and will obey your commands therein mentioned, I can add nothing to what I have given my Lord in writing, but that I find it very necessary that Mr. Erbery<sup>5</sup> should take his businesse speedily in hand, whilst Mrs. Dorothy's family<sup>6</sup> holds in a confusion. This is my

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Thomas Fitch (*supra*, no. 77). From 10 June 1659 lieutenant of the Tower ; planned to declare for the parliament against the army on 12 Dec., but the design was discovered and Fitch was arrested (Firth, *Regimental history*, i. 343-4).

<sup>2</sup> Major-general Desborough took command of the Tower, with Colonel Salmon as his lieutenant (*The Clarke papers*, iv (1901), 186). Major-general Berry was not involved in the command of the Tower.

<sup>3</sup> John Baron, brother to Hartgill Baron (*infra*, no. 193).

<sup>4</sup> Mary Knatchbull, Benedictine abbess at Ghent, regularly from 1656 assisted the King's cause by transmitting letters. She also procured money for the King on her credit (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 146, 401 ; iv. 59).

<sup>5</sup> 'Mr. Erbery' is probably the King (see *supra*, no. 188).

<sup>6</sup> 'Mrs. Dorothy' is Dunkirk (*supra*, no. 165), her 'family', the English government.

friends desire, and does presse me dayly to it. There are several persons pretending to Mrs. Dorothy, I do not know upon what account, but I fear they will marre the business, as Boulter<sup>1</sup> for one.

I shall desire your lordship to give my lord this account with all speed, for wee are given to understand that we are to be removed from hence very speedily, which would give a very great rubb into our affaires if not compassed afore that should happen. I am, Madam, your ladyships most obedient servant, N.

### 193. Hartgill Baron to Lady Mordaunt.

*Paris, 5/15 Dec. 1659.*—Madam, I had the honour of yours dated from Callais the roth of this instant by which I find my brother is not yet arrived, at which I a little wonder and truly I am sorry for it, because I feare my lord will be gon before he comes hither.

The King begins his journey towards Flaunders<sup>2</sup> next Wensday and I believe intends to take my lord in the coach with him to adjust things there with the duke, and the rest of the Kings councell, and from thence he will returne speedily to you.

I believe I shall very suddainly see you, and shall but see you and go on further to settle things elsewhere, I have above 20 letters to the considerable people, where I goe, to recomend my lord to them, and to receive his orders positively, in short, Madam, the King is infinite kind to my lord, and referrs the whole business both as to places and persons to his discretion. And I am sure that there is nothing that my lord can desire that will not be graunted him. I am not backward in my solicitation to importune my lord to lay hold on this fair opportunity, for I know some that slipt good ones and could never attain anire to the like, my lord has promised me to do it. I shall not desist at all in it till tis done for I know nothing but his modesty can obstruct it. To say little more Madam, I must still say what I have said formerly, my lord is received with all kindness imaginable, both by the King, and all about him that have sence; for others (though none can alledge any thing but all civilities possible from my lord) it will be to no purpose to shew their teeth when they cannot bite.

In short Madam I must tell you and without flattery, my lord has demeaned himself here with that prudence and gravity, and hath interlaced it with so much civility, and familiarity, that I think all love him, and I am confident he will receive such marks of the Kings further favour that he will be above all their hatred.

Though I am (as you may conclude) extreemly unwilling to leave my lord, yet my unwillingnesse is abated when I goe where I can better serve him; I shall if my lord goes to Flanders, write to my old honest friend there<sup>3</sup> to give him all assistance and advice, and I know he will be very just in it, I doubt not at all but our misery and exile draws to a period, though my lord has other feares, of which I shall say more when I have the honour to kisse your hands. I beseech you Madam, take courage, and be not dejected at any thing, and though I may be judged presumptuous to

<sup>1</sup> 'Boulter' is possibly Major Bolton (*supra*, no. 92).

<sup>2</sup> 7/17 Dec. (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 474).

<sup>3</sup> Sir Edward Nicholas, who corresponded with Hartgill Baron (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 247).

advise, where so much goodness and piety abounds, yet I shall go so far as to tell your ladyship God is all sufficient, and I doe not doubt but his anger will be pacified towards us, and that the murders and robberyes and blasphemies and cruelties of our enemies will cry louder than our sinns, and in Gods goodness and the unquestionable justice and honesty of our cause let us acquiesce.

I must begg your ladyships pardon for this freedome I take, and for this trouble I give you, and pray Madam be confident that I shall leave nothing unattempted, nor shall I scruple any hazzard to serve my lord and your ladyship and were my capacity equall to my honest desires I should do it most considerably, and I assure you I shall alwayes be most sincerely, dear Madam, your truly zealous and most faithfull servant, H. B.

#### 194. Edward Carrent to Lady Mordaunt.

15 Dec. 1659.—Madam, Our news at present is only that our lord mayor and his brethren with the comon councell have failed the expectations of the generality of our citty, who were ready to have avouched the city priviledges, and other things too with armes<sup>1</sup> in their hands. Our great and rich ones balke all . . . yet the apprentices and most others are so high and resolved, that had they oncurs fixt, I should hope a good issue, without that no good is to be expected by or from them; Here are great store of willing people I wish his Majesty were ready to use them, in the meantime Gods will be done; All your friends are well and wish you here. I am, your humble servant, &c.<sup>2</sup>

#### 195. The King to Sir George Booth.

Colombe, 6/16 Dec. 1659.—Your<sup>3</sup> handsome and considerable engagement gave me not only full satisfaction for your former actions, but a tender sence of your particular misfortune, and if it shall please God to blesse me, neither you nor yours shall ever have cause to repent it.

So signall a testimony as you have lately given of your inclinations to me, makes me very willing to encourage the generous returnes of misled persons and to assure them they can no sooner acknowledge their error, than I shall have a value and esteeme for them. Your good friend my lord Mordaunt hath given me a particular account of all your proceedings by which I clearly finde you intended my restoration, and my kingdomes tranquillity, and this induces me to give you the assurance of my being your very affectionate friend, Charles R.

#### 196. Princess Louise to Lady Mordaunt.

7/17 Dec. 1659.—Je<sup>4</sup> me crois bien heureuse d'avoir re(n)contre sette occasion

<sup>1</sup> The population of London wished to have their own militia to guard the city and the regiment of the army removed (*The Clarke papers*, iv (1901), 187).

<sup>2</sup> The letter is unsigned.

<sup>3</sup> Sir George Booth was still in prison; he was not released till 22 Feb. 1659–60 (*C.J.*, vii. 848).

<sup>4</sup> *The Princess Louise* (1622–1709), 2nd daughter of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia and Frederick V of the Palatinate; Dec. 1657 was secretly received into the Catholic church, and left

pour vous assurer par selle isy, que j'ay eu bien de la joie de vous savoir hors des perils ou j'ay oui que vous este expose par vostre generosite. Je vous assure Madame, que si l'estime que j'ai toujours eu de vous, ce pouvoit ocmenter, ce seroit pour ce sujet, mes elle a toujours este a un poin qu'il ni avoit rien a aiouter et l'amitie que vous continues a me taimoier [témoigner] par vostre lettre, m'oblige plus que james de vous assurer que pour avoir quite le monde, je n'oublie point mes amies et que je seres toujours tout a vous come une bone MaMa, si vous ne faite [s]crupule d'estre encore my chere child et d'avoir l'Eglise Catholique et Romene pour grand mere puisque j'en suis fille en qualite de Seur Louise. Marie Novise Indigne.

### 197. John Heath to P. B.

17 Dec. 1659.—Sir,<sup>1</sup> I received by Mr. Jones<sup>2</sup> the advice from the King and your self on Wensday, after that we made as good speed as we could to put it in execution. I got to speake with 942, 999, 720<sup>3</sup> this day about ten in the morning. I found him very affectionate to our friends businesse; and had before my coming put it very home, Lawson had before promisd him, if for any for the King, of a single person, more cannot be urged till it be seene what London and Monck doe, but I shall put it as much further as I can, and to that purpose shall goe to London after tomorrow and in the meane time I shall put my accounts in a method in Kent as well as I can, where I finde great readiness to doe our friend service, but much want of order in the accounts which my other business will not permitt me to looke after, in that place, that being the most pressing, and wherein I can move no further till I find encouragement from London, and Monck, without which my correspondent sayes he can proceed no further. I have spoken with 119<sup>4</sup> and find from him more questions then answers, and altogether not much satisfaction. I shall repaire as soone as I can to Sir Tho. Peyton to give me light in that and the next. Assure your self I will omit no paines or care to give you an account of all your commands, this is but a tast, having had not above six houres of enquiry after my whole businesse before the post calls for my letters.

By the next I hope to give you a more satisfactory account. The news I meet with is that Lawson on Thursday<sup>5</sup> last went from the Downes into the Thames mouth,

<sup>1</sup> the Hague for Antwerp; 25 March 1659 she took the veil as a novice in the abbey of Maubuisson near Pontoise, and ultimately became its abbess (Green, *Elizabeth Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia* (1909 edn.), pp. 391–5; *The Nicholas papers*, iv. (1920), 78.

<sup>2</sup> 'P. B.' is probably Lord Mordaunt. In Heath's letter to Mordaunt of 30 Dec. 1659 (*infra*, no. 206) he refers to his last letter to Mordaunt, and from internal evidence this would appear to be it; in both letters Heath refers to the designs on Lawson and on Kent.

<sup>3</sup> Pseudonym for Hartgill Baron.

<sup>4</sup> Probably Mr. Arnold Breames, entrusted by the King with the overtures to Vice-admiral Lawson *supra*, no. 120) and referred to in that connection by Heath in his letter of 30 Dec. (*infra*, no. 206).

<sup>5</sup> 119 unidentified, possibly Sir John Boys, who was engaged for the design on Kent (*supra*, no. 31, n. 3). Heath in his letter to Hyde of 6 Feb. refers to him in this connection (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 549).

<sup>6</sup> On 13 Dec. 1659 Vice-admiral Lawson issued a declaration from the fleet in favour of the restoration of parliament (*The Clarke papers*, iv (1901), 216, n. 1; Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 180) and



and has resolved to concurr with the citty of London, and Monck, for a free parliament. Some troops of this countrey, from Ashford and Maidstond as well as out of other countreys are drawn to goe against Portsmouth, which opposeth the army in favour of a parliament.

Sir, you will excuse me both to your self and our friend, that I give no better account of your businesse, having had so little time to looke about me. But I shall mend it next time and I hope to your satisfaction, direct your letters to me, under a cover of Mr. George Miller to be left with 199.<sup>1</sup> I have not more at present to say to you from your faithfull servant, H.

### 198. Sir Edward Hyde to Lord Mordaunt.

*Brussels, 10/20 Dec. 1659.*—My very good lord,<sup>2</sup> I have received your favour of the 11th<sup>3</sup> and doe give you very many thanks for the assurance of the young ladys favour which shall oblige me to all respects towards the old<sup>4</sup> against whom in my life I never committed a fault, and though her last husband had no kindnesse for me her first had very much, and therefore by your favour, I have some kind of tittle to the good opinion of the daughter.

I am very sorry that the progress in France towards our maine businesse is not answerable to your expectation, I hope there may be more encouragement given then they have leave to brag of. I am sure if I thought this winter would be lost I should be very melancholy, for the advantages are enough in view.

I am very glad you have consulted about preparing any memoriall<sup>5</sup> with Mr. R. Fanshaw, who is as honest and as discreet a person, as I know, and one of whom the King and my lord lieutenant have a singular esteeme. I confesse the naming of the persons and places is a very nice thing, and I hope may be well enough avoyded, since the King intends to venture his own person with the forces he desires. And truly methinks the advantages are so apparent, by all the forces in the kingdome being drawn into the north, that any body must believe that the Kings landing with 3 or 4 thousand in any other part of the kingdome would doe his businesse, espetially considering the present temper of the citty.

The good secretary<sup>6</sup> and I doe not pretend to be so sharp sighted as other men, into the affections and inclinations of the cardinall, and court of France, yet we presume to think, that the little experience we have had may enable us to guesse which is the way to doe our businesse in England, as well as other men, which makes us wish that if you be not obliged speedily to goe over you would come with the King, and without doubt two or three dayes conference together may make difficult things more easie, but whether you can have that time you can only judge.

I cannot doubt but the King hath found some way to let your friends of the leaving the Downs on 14 Dec. on 16 Dec. he entered the Thames with 13 ships (Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, ii. 311).

<sup>1</sup> 199 : cipher for Dr. John Barwick (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 257).

<sup>2</sup> Clarendon MSS., vol. lxvii, fo. 202. Draft by Bulteale.

<sup>3</sup> 1/11 Dec. 1659. *Supra*, no. 178.

<sup>4</sup> Lady Herbert (*supra*, no. 178, n. 3).

<sup>5</sup> The memorandum for Cardinal Mazarin (*supra*, no. 178).

<sup>6</sup> Sir Edward Nicholas.

Knot know that he is the master of his own affaires, and that he will be obeyed or not served, otherwise the worke will be too hard, and I long very much to heare that Mr. Nicholls hath been with the King, who I am confident hath not given him such a reception as he expected. I am desired by an honest gentleman to put the enclosed to Jamot<sup>1</sup> under a cover to your lordship, who he sayes knows how to dispose of it. I wish your lordship all happinesse and am very heartily, &c.<sup>2</sup>

### 199. The King to Lady Mordaunt.

11/21 Dec. 1659.—Madam, I should have sooner acknowledged the receipt of divers of your letters but that I was on my journey from Spaine. I will not now goe about to tell you how much I think my self beholding to you and your husband, I will referre that to a proper season when I can doe it more to your satisfaction and myne; I only take this occasion to tell you that I hope God will please to put me into that condition before it be long that I may let you see, with what esteeme and kindness I am, Madam, your very affectionate friend, Charles R.

### 200. Hartgill Baron to Lord Mordaunt.

London, 23 Dec. 1659.—My lord,<sup>3</sup> By reason of some disturbances here I came not to this town untill Tuesday last, Monday morning<sup>4</sup> last in Greenwich a troop called a congregationall troop being quartered there about a 100 horse fell in among them, kild the captaine, disarmed most of the souldiers, and so dispersed. Some say the Rump party did it, others the Cavalier partie, but t'was Collonell Culpepper of Kent,<sup>5</sup> who expected that the citty would according to promise have proceeded that day which if attempted the King's businesse had been done.

As for news here: I shall say litle because I know other hands will convey all particulars, only this much I must say, those that are your particular enemyes have told me, had you been here the King had been crowned. They see now the want of industry, and of such as refused no hazard to serve the King.

All sober and most wise men say, had the King been here any morning these ten last dayes he had been crowned before night. And truly 'tis the sence of all, that unless the King attempts some thing speedily the Rump will get up againe, and our ruine will certainly follow. And 'tis as much the sence of all that unless the King comes in person to give his own orders, and give assurances personally to pardon and indempnifie all or the greatest part that have transgressed both as to life and fortune

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, no. 60, n. 10.

<sup>2</sup> The letter is unsigned.

<sup>3</sup> Clarendon MSS., vol. lxviii, fo. 26 r. Copy by Baron, endorsed by Hyde.

<sup>4</sup> 18 Dec. 1659. This is the attempted rising in London alluded to by Slingsby in his letter to Hyde of 23 Dec. (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 494). It was evidently planned also by Major-general Browne (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 494) but discouraged by Sir William Waller (*ibid.*). Arms had been purchased, but in London on 19 Dec. a search was made, arms seized and Major-general Desborough maintained order (Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, ii. 312).

<sup>5</sup> Colonel Culpeper of Kent is Sir Thomas Culpeper (1598–1662), royalist, of Greenway Court, Hollingbourne, Kent; compounded for delinquency in 1646 (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, ii. 1235). He was arrested for complicity in Booth's rising in Aug. 1659 and released on security of £3,000 on 26 Sept. 1659 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, pp. 98, 223). *D.N.B.*

our game will be dangerous. This is the generall sence though in this case they dare not advise. But all your friends here beg you to hasten hither, and to bring full instructions and the commission of trust with you, for all feare our opportunity will be lost.

Mr. Mansell<sup>1</sup> is up in Wales with 2000 by Fleetwood's commission, and Huntington<sup>2</sup> in Oxford with 1200, and declares for no party, so that his designe is not known. I find not only Kent but all other counties so zealous that it is a difficult task to keep them from a disorderly rising, I wish that we let them not coole too much and sing the doleful ditty of *sero medicina paratur*.

There are not now above 4 or 5 shipps abroad so that if we rest quiet now, tis pittie we should ever have the like opportunity. I shall give you an account of your other commands by the next post. Here are at present such confusions especially in London that noe man can make a judgment of the event, one houre tis said we shall have a free parliament, another, parliament of 47, another none at all, what will be the issue God knows.<sup>3</sup>

The army party sinks much and the Rump increase as much, most of the party that lay before Portsmouth is gone in to Haslerig, and some say he is marching to London, others, that he is gone with two frigatts to Hull. Lawson has declared for the Rump and hath blocked up the river.

Sir, 'tis the desire of all your friends here, as you tender the Kings good, the bleeding condition of poore England and the welfare and happinesse of all our friends, to hasten hither and to bring the Kings resolution concerning crown and church lands which will be the only remora to his restoration. Your most affectionate and faithfull servant, H. B.

## 201. The dowager countess of Peterborough to Lord Mordaunt.

24 Dec. 1659.—I have not heard from you this month therefore did not my duty to the King knowing it necessary for him to know the truth how things goe here, I would not give my self the trouble. There was never such an opportunitie lost for want of either the Kings being here in person, or els some other to have been impowred by him to take hold of all opportunities, and to act upon them as they offered themselves. Had the King landed but with 3000 men any time this month he had done his work which two sorts of people did feare and prevent; some Papists by informing of some countryes that were ready; another sort there was frightened by ranting Cavaliers would not have it done but upon conditions, delayed the tyme and tooke off Browne from acting that day,<sup>4</sup> thinking they could doe it when they pleased, but

<sup>1</sup> Bussy Mansell of the Mansell family of Margam, Glamorgan, parliamentarian, on militia committee for Glamorgan in 1659 (*Acts and Ord.*, ii. 1328), but approached for the rising of 1659 by the royalists (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 270).

<sup>2</sup> Robert Huntington, soldier, major of regiment of horse in the New Model army, but re-commissioned in 1648 (Firth, *Regimental history*, i. 201-2): Jan. 1660 was reinstated in the commission by the parliament (*ibid.*, i. 209).

<sup>3</sup> The Rump was restored on 26 Dec. 1659. Speaker Lenthall to Monck 27 Dec. 1659 (*The Clarke papers*, iv (1901), 222).

<sup>4</sup> This is an allusion to the refusal of Major-general Browne to support the attempted rising in London, 17 Dec. (*supra*, no. 200, n. 4).

never was there such an occasion lost, nor ever such a time as now for the King to come, therefore loose it not, but for Gods sake let the King come away with all speed possible, or els most certainly he hazards his crowne.

The Rump is now the only visible strength of this nation. Haslerig is the head of it and is at Portsmouth, the army forces are all gone to him and have — [*blank in MS.*] that was against it. Many of them have sate in the speaker's chamber alredy and expect every day to sit in the house. Lawson has sent to the citty to joyn with him, they have made a very handsom declaration for a free parliament. They have settled their militia <sup>1</sup> for their own defence of six companies of the trayned bands and have chosen good commanders over them and foure companies of their own auxiliaries. They have also at their last common hall <sup>2</sup> chosen a common councill for the whole yeare as if God had directed them for the Kings good, they would not admitt of any person that had bought lands of either King, bishop or deane and chapters, they have sent one alderman and two common councill men to Haslerig, Lawson and to Monck to gaine them if possible, if not you get tyme to come away, and there is not one ship at sea to hinder you, Lawson has brought them all as near as they can ride to London, so you may land in the very Downes if you please.

If once againe the whole army joyne farewell all. Tomorrow is common councill day againe and great things are expected but I expect none till you come. Believe who ever perswades delayes loves you not, but your man the French ambassador playes the devill,<sup>3</sup> I wish you could get him called away. If your master makes not hast, you are all lost. Your boyes <sup>4</sup> are very well and I sequestred <sup>5</sup> still. All the officers of the army are gon to the Rump but some few that are run away.<sup>6</sup>

## 202. Edward Carrent to Lady Mordaunt.

*London, 26 Dec. 1659.*—Madam, Since my last here is a very strange alteration, not the same face of affaires, the whole souldiery about London leave their officers and falling off to the Rump now solely lords here. They sitt to morrow. Desborow <sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The common council of the City of London met daily from 19 Dec. to 20th. On 23 Dec. it recommended the calling out of six regiments of trained bands under officers commissioned by the City and that Commissioners should be appointed to confer with Hesilrige, Morley, and Lawson with a view to the convening of a free parliament (Sharpe, *London and the kingdom* (1894), ii. 360).

<sup>2</sup> The election of the new common council took place on 21 Dec. (*C.S.P.*, iii. 634, 641).

<sup>3</sup> The instructions to Monsieur Bordeaux, the French ambassador, from Cardinal Mazarin were that he should refrain from declaring himself for any one party (Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, ii. 311). Bordeaux informed a relation of Fleetwood that the king of France had no intention of intervening in English domestic affairs, and had made no engagement in favour of Charles II (*ibid.*, i. 313).

<sup>4</sup> Mordaunt's two sons, Charles and Henry.

<sup>5</sup> The dowager countess of Peterborough owned the manor of Reigate in Surrey; John Mordaunt held it from her and it was sequestered in Oct. 1659 on account of his share in Booth's rebellion (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, v. 3252).

<sup>6</sup> The letter is unsigned.

<sup>7</sup> On 29 Dec. Major-general Desborough sent to the speaker a letter of apology and submission to the parliament (Firth, *Regimental history*, i. 207–8). He was reported also by Mr. Cooper as gone to join Lambert (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 499).

and most of the great ones are fled, most towards Lambert. Fleetwood crys it out at home alone, Lambert must fall likewise for want of moneyes. What issue may be God only knows. Our citty were brisk last weeke setting the militia and putting up chaines<sup>1</sup> but I feare much they begin to coole the Rumps power increasing so fast before we are in a posture of defence.

Your little ones are very well. Nell:<sup>2</sup> I suppose had given you some account of them, and why your goods are not removed. We are all in health who are your humble servants, but none more zealously yours than &c. Ed: Carrent.

### 203. Hartgill Baron to Lord Mordaunt.

*London, 29 Dec. 1659.*—My lord,<sup>3</sup> I wrot to you by the last<sup>4</sup> which I hope came safe to you in which I gave you an account of all our confusions and affaires here; I have not heard yet from you, which I impute to the not coming of the post hither. All things here at present are in so great a cloud that the most quick sighted or wisest man living is not able to make a judgment what may be the issue. The secluded members presse admission into the house<sup>5</sup> with no little confidence, and this day the Rump offered it if they would protest against the family of the Stuarts. The secluded members replied, it is a breach of priviledge for them to impose anything whatsoever on their fellow members, they demand first admission, and then they say possibly they may be of their judgment, but if that is denied them, they know what course to steere, in short I find the old members very resolute and truly the most sober here conclude, without their admission or a free parliament, the Rump will not sit long.

Severall places here declare for a free parliament, and London is most peremptory in it, they resolving to settle their own militia, and to that purpose are now chaining up their streets, they refuse to own the Rump without admission of the secluded members the Rump answer to this they are the parliament,<sup>6</sup> but were discontinued by a force. The citty reply the secluded members condition was the same and thus it stands, but one weeke more will so dispell these clouds are now amongst us that we shall be able to judge clearly.

Here is a letter come from Major Creed<sup>7</sup> one of Lambert's officers and confidents that says Lambert has garrisoned York<sup>8</sup> and he is advanced towards Monck to fight him and questions not but in fowre days to engage him, that his army is in a very good

<sup>1</sup> 24 Dec. 1659. The common council of the City ordered the setting up of chains and posts in the city (Sharpe, *London and the kingdom* (1894), ii. 361).

<sup>2</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>3</sup> Clarendon MSS., vol. lxviii, fos. 26 v-7, copy by Baron, endorsed by Hyde.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra*, no. 200.

<sup>5</sup> 27 Dec. twenty-one secluded members met but failed to gain admission to the parliament (*C.S.P.*, iii. 647; Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, ii. 323).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 323.

<sup>7</sup> Major Richard Creed (*supra*, p. 60, n. 3).

<sup>8</sup> Colonel Robert Lilburne, an adherent of Lambert, tried unsuccessfully to hold York against the rising movement for the parliament led by Lord Fairfax (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, pp. 293-6; *Memorials of the Civil War, the Fairfax correspondence*, ed. Bell, ii (1849), pp. 151-71. 'Iter Boreale', the narrative of Brian Fairfax of events in Yorkshire Dec. 1659-Jan. 1660. Lambert's army was not paid and disintegrating.

condition and unanimous ; he saith more that they heare that Lawson hath declared for Gog and Magog,<sup>1</sup> and that they are busy againe, but that they question not in a short time to relieve their brethren from the tirany of the Philistines. Thus you see our sad condition, nothing but a warr to be expected and we must always be subject to that faction has the longest sword.

Windsor Castle was seized by Major Huntington,<sup>2</sup> by Colonel Will: Leggs particular direction, and yesterday he assured me himself he had ground enough to conclude him honest which will appeare in convenient time.

To conclude I find the old presbiterians grow up againe, and take my word the designe now is to bring in the King on the Isle of Wight conditions, the soberest here believe these will carry all, at long running, and that a short time will make it but I feare, and have reason for it that they have a litle poysond 280<sup>3</sup> with their opinion, and some other friends of yours ; And questionless unless the King's condition be so considerable as to balance them, or at least to take them off the consequence will be pernicious.

Judge you now, Sir, how highly necessary your coming hither with all speed is having so great an influence on them, for t'is concluded, you will be able to sweeten them much, if not take them quite off, therefore 'tis the desire of all your friends to see you with all imaginable speed, and to bring full instructions. And what his Majesty will doe concerning purchased lands, as also to bring privy seals with you. Pray, Sir, make the King thoroughly sensible of this and of the sad consequences will attend it with great care. I shall now give you no further trouble but must tell you that I am your most faithfull and most zealous servant, Hartgill Baron.

#### 204. Lord Jermyn to Lord Mordaunt.

19/29 Dec. 1659.—My lord, This is only to tell you that I shall send you the cipher which I desired you to allow me to doe next post certainly and that we part on Monday ; God send us good speed. I am very hopefull which is all I have to add to what I said at parting. Sir Robert Murray<sup>4</sup> and I have had much discourse since he left you. Nothing can be more welcome to me nor more esteemed by me than your favour and kindness neither ought you to be more fully persuaded of any thing then of my inclinations to invite you to the continuance of them to me by all the means that can be in my power, and as strong a disposition to pay you the returns as can be in any man living. I beseech you to believe this as most unfeyned truth and that I am with all sorts of respects, my lord, your lordship's most humble and most faithfull servant, Jermyn.

<sup>1</sup> The Rump (Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 592).

<sup>2</sup> Windsor Castle was secured by Colonel Henry Ingoldsby for the parliament on 28 Dec. 1659 (*C.J.*, vii. 798). William Legge denied that he brought it about (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 532).

In the Clarendon MS copy by Baron, 'Wednesday morning' is inserted after 'seized', and after 'Major Huntington' the text is as follows, 'and Col. Henry Ingoldsby, they declare for a Parliament, and Wildman is now also in it, who 'tis said, is for the Rump, but what will tend to God knows, 'tis thought Wildman shall be governor'.

<sup>3</sup> 280. Sir William Waller in the Clarendon MSS.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra*, no. 179, n. 7.

## 205. The King to Lord Mordaunt.

20/30 Dec. 1659.—I writt to you 2 or 3 dayes since which it may be may not come sooner to you then this, but having since seen a letter of yours to one whose name is not in the cipher, and who, though he be a very honest man, is not fit for all kinds of trust, I make all the hast I can, which I take to be one necessary part of kindness to you, to undeceive you in some particulars, which I perceive have given you trouble, and might well do so as long as you give credit to the information. But I doe in the first place assure you, and not only for myself but those about me, whoe have been trusted by you, and who are as just to you as they ought to be, and as any can be whom you can trust, that we have only forborne saying anything to your self which you might well expect to heare out of tenderness to you, which 665<sup>1</sup> expressed at large, with all my sence of your carriage to 247,<sup>2</sup> if his letters have not miscarried. And I doe assure you, I have never heard any such discourse or censure as you mention, but on the contrary all men have exceedingly commended what you did not without trouble that an other very good man did not doe the same. Therefore I must conjure you not only not to believe any reports of that kind, but to looke upon the reporters as persons who doe not wish well to me or you, whatsoever they pretend. And I pray harken not to any body who shall discourse with you on my affaires except you are sure they are trusted by me, which upon my word many are not who pretend to much, and who would be thought to understand my businesse better then my self.

I was once moved in a particular concerning you upon the desire of him who shewed me your letter which I concluded was not by your desire, and so answered accordingly, though for the thing that was asked I intend it you with all my heart.

I shall be glad to receive advice from you in all particulars and what you do not write to myself write to 665 or to 513,<sup>3</sup> who are very faithfull to you. I will add no more, than that if I am not very kind to you I deserve no more such friends.<sup>4</sup>

Pray remember me very kindly to your wief.

## 206. John Heath to Lord Mordaunt.

London, 30 Dec. 1659.—Sir, Since my last<sup>5</sup> our changes have been many and various as you will have it more fully by prints and other accounts. On advancement of the Rump Parliament by the favourable concurrence of Monck and the fleet, and the defection of most of the army here, much through the unspirited proceeding of their Generall Fleetwood and the want of vigour in London, this citties former resolution for a free parliament are now explained to be for the old one, with the secluded members restored, and vacant places filled up, for which they have by their

<sup>1</sup> The cipher used appears to be that used by Mordaunt in March 1658–59. '665' is ? Hyde, as in Mordaunt's letter to the King, 25 Jan. 1658–59 (Clarendon MSS., vol. lx, fos. 14–15).

<sup>2</sup> '247' is William Rumbold in Mordaunt's letter to Hyde of 8 March 1658–59 (Clarendon MSS, vol. lx, fos. 211–12).

<sup>3</sup> '513' is Ormonde in the same letter of 8 March 1658–59 of Mordaunt to Hyde.

<sup>4</sup> The signature is the knot.

<sup>5</sup> John Heath also wrote to Hyde on 30 Dec. (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 502).

commissioners sent their petition to the parliament now sitting.<sup>1</sup> And though they say they intend to go on with establishing their militia and putting up their posts and chaines for their peace and safety, I believe it will be no otherwise then the parliament shall approve and authorize unlesse some great occurrence intervene to warme their courage. Yet have they purged the common councill of rotten members,<sup>2</sup> as high court of justice men, purchasers of crown, church and delinquents lands &c. and chosen uninterested persons in their roomes, so as it gives great wonder to most how they flagg so much. The true reason is for want of warme authentique application to them, for many that would doe well want instruction how to act, others that have feare or hope, want assurance from proper hands; for in the absence of lord Mordaunt, I find not any here to proceed in councill or practice in affaires, whether for want of commission or instruction, or encouragement from the King, but everyone as single persons act according to their own discretion which perhaps runs not all into one channell nor carrys so much weight as it would in conjunction.

I find the opinion of most is that if his Majestie had been here at any time for 3 weeks before the parliament did sit, he might have been established without blood, and though the tide seeme to run one way, yet if Lambert seasonably declare in favour of the King or forraigne force be with speed landed (which is necessary) it would quite turn all into our chanell.

The having of Dunkirke either upon treaty with Lockhart, or upon proceeding on Nugent's articles,<sup>3</sup> would wonderfully change things here and give courage and reputation.

I gave you an account in my two former how far I had proceeded and why I could proceed no further till other concurrences gave occasion of further addresse from Breames to Lawson, and till force landed gave courage to Kent. And you may see by the present posture of things here how little further account can be expected reasonably from me in those particulars at present, meane while I pray assure yourself, and his Majestie, I will omit no time or occasion of furthering them to the utmost of my capacity and industry.

Though the navy give terror to Spayne and France yet cannot Lawson hinder a present landing of force being in the Thames and not victualled, espetially if you be assured of a good fort, as I am told you are.

Wilde <sup>4</sup>the new recorder of London and Mr. Forde,<sup>5</sup> merchant, one of the common

<sup>1</sup> The petition to the Rump for the return of the secluded members was drafted on 28 Dec., but on 29 Dec. the common council postponed its presentation (Sharpe, *London and the kingdom*, ii (1894), 363).

<sup>2</sup> See *supra*, no. 201, and *C.S.P.*, iii. 641, on the new common council.

<sup>3</sup> The exact terms of Colonel Nugent's plans for securing the surrender of Dunkirk to the King are not available.

<sup>4</sup> *Sir William Wilde* (1611 ?-79), judge, son of William Wilde, a London vintner, member of the Inner Temple. 3 Nov. 1659 Recorder of London. *D.N.B.*

<sup>5</sup> *Mr. Richard Ford* according to Rumbold's letter to the King of 30 Jan. 1659-60 had promised assistance (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 538). He was one of the twelve members of the common council sent to congratulate Monck on his arrival in London (*Journal of the Common Council*, 41x, fol. 219). I am indebted to Miss M. Weinstock of Lady Margaret Hall, for this reference from her unpublished M.A. thesis on 'The position of London in national affairs, 1658-1660'.



councill are verie active and zealous for the King, I shall make a good acquaintance with both, it were fit they were cajoled with letters from the King, taking notice of their interest and power as well as zeale for his service.

I pray Sir, give me leave to prompt you though I think it needs not, to be an earnest solliscitor of speedy dispatch of our business wherein lyes the whole weight of it, and come your self with speed, for all is at a losse untill you give new life with full order and power. Present my humble service to your honored lady and be pleased to esteeme of me as your most faithfull and humble servant, John Heath.

### 207. Edward Carrent to Lady Mordaunt.

*London, 2 Jan. 1659-60.*—Madam, The parliament carry all in these parts, yet our citty doe not acknowledge them though cajold by a comittee on Saturday. Wee yet stand to our first principle, but I feare we shall want courage, I mean our common councill. Lambert is marching this way, Monck after him, Fairfax and divers gentlemen are in armes in Yorkshire<sup>1</sup> but have not yet declared, so divers in Warwickshire, its feared the last are for the Rump.

Ireland is clearly out of order. Letters which I have seen from Dublin, say they declare for a free parliament, here is a close designe carried on by 133<sup>2</sup> and some others to draw off the presbyterian to the parliament in hopes of the settlement of their church government, yet let all of them do what they can we shall have the King at the end of our divisions, which God graunt, sayes your most humble servant, Ed: Carrent.

### 208. Colonel Nugent to Lord Mordaunt.

*23 Dec./2 Jan. 1659-60.*—My lord, Yours of the 30 of December I have received and am right sorry to hear his Majestie finds those rubbs as to be able to hinder him to take a designe of so great consequence in hand, for we have all things in a readinesse even the keys of the inward gate and barriers. Captain Barber<sup>3</sup> is still in prison but has assured me, as soone as he is at liberty that he will perswade his brother to come off from the fleet, he commands a frigate of 26 gunns and hopes to gaine another of 12 gunns. This had been in a readinesse if I had not received Mr. Armorers's letter from Paris, and now I feare I shall not be able to doe your lordships commands, for we are to part hence the 5th of this present. If in this or any thing els, I am able to serve your lordship, I pray command me and let me know how his Majestie will be pleased to dispose of him that is, My lord, your most obedient servant, Nugent.

My most humble service to my lady.

<sup>1</sup> For the rising of Lord Fairfax in Yorkshire in favour of General Monck, see Baker, *Chronicle*, pp. 593-4; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, pp. 293-6.

<sup>2</sup> Probably *Sir Hardress Waller*, who with Sir Charles Coote and Colonel Theophilus Jones secured Dublin Castle and the whole of Ireland for the parliament (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 199, n. 1). Letters from the Irish officers at Dublin reporting these events were read in parliament on 4 Jan. and on 5 Jan. a vote of thanks and approval was passed.

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, no. 160, n. 8.

## 209. Lord Mordaunt to the King.

[*Undated*.—The <sup>1</sup> present state of the parliament very pale, Hesilrige undermined by Cooper,<sup>2</sup> Morley,<sup>3</sup> Weaver,<sup>4</sup> Neville supports Hesilrige and both endeavour to introduce Vane. But the latter disowns them. 133 (Cooper) employs his rhetoric to cashier officers who sided with Fleetwood and Lambert and Morley reduces sectaries. Neville argues for liberty and is concluded an atheist. Lawson suspended for delivering a petition for Vane's readmission. The house is divided, 23 with Cooper, 16 with Neville. Hesilrige accused Ingoldsby of being in arms in Sir George Booth's rising and he lost the regiment he was courted to receive and the king's party the foundation that would have been to it. Dissension between the house and the council of state; the first order Monck to advance the latter to halt. Lambert's army composed of sectaries, commanded by Monck into Scotland. Morgan <sup>5</sup> is Major-general and the numbers are small. Lambert is busy in London. Of Monck's army, he says the general opinion is that since the rebellion began, no army better disciplined. It is 7000 horse and foot. Not known what result Monck's conference with Fairfax will have. Mordaunt expects it this night from Mr. Rushworth <sup>6</sup> his secretary. Monck brings with him £50,000, is believed to be at Newark. Hopes the King can draw favourable conclusion from the fact that Monck has given commission to the Fenwicks,<sup>7</sup> secluded members to raise a regiment of horse, has made Ellison <sup>8</sup> one of

<sup>1</sup> Printed in full in *C.S.P.*, iii. 649–52, under date 16 Jan. 1659–60, with three additional paragraphs on the city, the army there and the navy.

<sup>2</sup> On 7 Jan. 1659–60 Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper was re-admitted to parliament on his old petition as elected for Downton (*supra*, no. 32, n. 2). For his political activities from 7 Jan. to the Restoration, see Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 205 *et seq.*; *Life of Anthony Ashley Cooper* (1871), i. 194–212, for the fragmentary narrative written by Shaftesbury. He was elected a member of the council of state set up on 2 Jan., he worked temporarily with Sir Arthur Hesilrige and the republicans, but aimed at the restoration of the secluded members by the aid of Monck. This he helped to effect on 21 Feb. (*ibid.*, pp. 211–12).

<sup>3</sup> Colonel Morley (*supra*, no. 93, n. 4), appointed lieutenant of the Tower on 7 Jan. 1659–60, was again approached by John Evelyn on 12 Jan. to restore the King (Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. Bray (1879), iii. 180–3). But Morley declined to act.

<sup>4</sup> John Weaver (d. 1685), politician, of North Luffenham, Lincs; Nov. 1645 M.P. for Stamford; 1649 named as a commissioner to try the King but did not attend the court; 1650–52, civil commissioner in Ireland; Feb. 1653 resigned; 1654, 1656 M.P. for Stamford, but Sept. 1656 excluded; 1659 M.P. for Stamford; Dec. 1659 he helped to secure the Tower, and was elected a member of the council of state (*C.J.*, vii. 800); 23 Feb. 1660 re-elected member of the council of state (*C.J.*, vii. 849); elected M.P. for Stamford 1660, but election disallowed. Died 1685. *D.N.B.*

<sup>5</sup> Colonel Thomas Morgan (d. 1679?), soldier; 2nd son of Robert Morgan, of Llanrhymany, Wales, had served in foreign armies before 1644, when he returned to England to serve in the parliamentary forces from 1644 to 1659. 1657–Nov. 1658 second in command of the army in Flanders. 7 Nov. 1659 he joined Monck at Edinburgh and in Feb. 1660, when Monck advanced on London, Morgan was left in command at York (Firth, *Regimental history*, i. 307–15). *D.N.B.*

<sup>6</sup> The information as to the conference between Monck and Fairfax is in Clarendon MSS., vol. lxviii, fo. 130; at the end is written in Mordaunt's hand and cipher, 'This is Mr. Rushworth'.

<sup>7</sup> Colonel George Fenwick (d. 1657), parliamentarian, son of George Fenwick of Brinkburn, Northum. M.P. for Morpeth 1645, for Berwick 1654 and 1656, but excluded, died in March 1657 (Firth, *Regimental history*, i. 387–92). He was the son-in-law of Sir Arthur Hesilrige. The reference here is erroneous. *D.N.B.*

<sup>8</sup> Major Ellison mentioned as acting with Fleetwood and Desborough in Feb. 1658–59 (*The Clarke papers*, iii (1899), 183).

the same stamp governor of Newcastle and employs Colonel Bethell.<sup>1</sup> Mordaunt can say no more of Monck but that he is a black monk and he cannot see through him.]

## 210. General Schomberg to Lord Mordaunt.

*Bergue, 27 Dec./6 Jan. 1659-60.*—Monsieur,<sup>2</sup> Depuis la lettre que je me suis donne l'honneur de vous escrire du 4, mon C(olonel) Nugent m'a fait entendre<sup>3</sup> que les personnes avec qu'il a traite de vostre part, lui fait voir les choses en estat et que le delay peut estre prejudiciable a l'exécution mesme, luy mesme manquant d'argent pour vous envoyer un expres, je le luy ay fait donner, il est a propose que le Roy sache qu'il avance toutte ce qu'il a pu emprunter pour divers petites despences qu'il a falue faire pour les gens qui passait pour le service du Roy. Je luy en ay mende un mot aussy et qu'il me semble que les choses que vous avez a negotier, il le faudroit faire avant que ce sorte d'ici parceque lors que la garnison Espaignoll sera ici,<sup>4</sup> les officiers de Dunkerque n'auront plus la commodite de venir ici soubz pretext d'acheter ces provisions. Je ne vous mende pas des nouvelles d'Angleterre, puisque vous en estez mieux averty que moy. Je baise tres humblement les mains a Madam Mordaunt et demeure tres veritablement, Monsieur, vostre tres humble et tres obeissant serviture Schomberg.

## 211. Sir Edward Hyde to — [blank in MS.].

*31 Dec./10 Jan. 1659-60.*—Sir,<sup>5</sup> The very honest person through whose hands this finds the way to you assures me that you will not be unwilling to receave a letter from me, and I cannot doe anything more willingly, then give you my word I have a very high esteeme and valew of you and have not been without that value one minute since I first had the knowledge of your affection and merit, and many of my letters have miscarried if you have had no notice of it, and since I thought it unseasonable to trouble you with any such addresses, I have done the best I could that by an other hand which I knew you trusted, you might know the true sence your friend had of what you had done, and what you had suffered. And I doe not in the least degree doubt but that when I shall have the good fortune to be a little known to you, you

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Hugh Bethel served under the Fairfaxes in the first Civil War, but saw no military service after 1649; in Jan. 1660 Monck appointed him to command Lambert's regiment at York (Firth, *Regimental history*, i. 261-2).

<sup>2</sup> Schomberg wrote to Hyde on 24 Nov./4 Dec. from Bergue (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 455), but there is no letter from him to Mordaunt of that date. It is probable that letter no. 175 (*supra*) from Schomberg, undated and without direction, was intended for Mordaunt.

<sup>3</sup> This letter should be read in conjunction with those of Schomberg to the marquis of, Ormonde, 4 Jan. 1660, to the King, 4 Jan. 1660, and to the King, 6 Jan. 1660 (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 271-6). Schomberg reported to the King on 27 Dec./6 Jan. that he had heard from Colonel Nugent that the keys of the gates and barrier at Dunkirk had been brought to him (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 273), but he lacked the money to take action.

<sup>4</sup> Schomberg believed Dunkirk could be more easily secured, when Bergue was in French occupation than when with the execution of the Peace of the Pyrenees, it was returned to Spain (*ibid.*, ii. 274.)

<sup>5</sup> This is one of a series of drafts made by Hyde at this date, some as from the King, to persons in England (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 503).

will not think possible that I can doe anything which may make you ashamed of any good opinion and friendship you shall professe towards, Sir, your most affectionate humble servant, E: H:

It is above a yeare since there was a promise made to you of a place for a friend of yours which cold not then he dispatched in forme, but shall be done as fully as can be desired.

#### 212. J. B. to Lord Mordaunt.

10 Jan. 1659-60.—Sir,<sup>1</sup> I have yours of the tenth of the last by the person you did me the favour to recommend, by whose care I hope this will come to your hands. It is most true I had not anything to write to you from this side that could please you, unless it were that your person and your merit had a just value, and that I durst not venture to tell you for feare of adding to or renewing your danger, which was enough to put me into very uneasy apprehensions, both out of my concernments for you and yours and out of a feare that I might have had an unfortunate part in bringing it upon you if you belieue this, as firmly you may, you cannot doubt of the joy your deliverance gave me, who am very highly interested in anything that befalls you, since I may assure you with much truth, that those who have not the same obligations to be concerned for you, that are upon me, were affected with the same passion, though I will not allow it could be in the same degree, yet I may say after all this I knew you too well to believe you would take it for an obligation to have been spared, if there could have anything been proposed to you, worth a new hazard, but till that bee or seeme to me to be, I shall chuse rather to lye under the reproach of sloth, than affect such an activity as may put my friends past action when a fit opportunitie comes as I cannot doubt but one day it will.

It is very fitt that persons who are willing to venter into so great and so dangerous a worke as ours is should chuse their own wayes and their own instruments. And I shall never pass the limitts that shall be prescribed me when mens lives are at stake, nor think I can honestly trust another mans concernments without his leave where I would without difficulty trust my owne, yet let me tell you it will be hard for my master to make all ends meet, and set all wheelles agoing upon the strength of his own judgment and memory without such under ministeriall assistances as in all cases of this nature must be employed, Let not this I have said create any doubt in you that what shall be imparted will be any less a secret than shall be desired, but let it be some part of an argument to perswade the person to admitt of one more (at whom you may guess) into the business, which if I were not as confident of him as of my self, or if there were an intention to do it without permission I would not propose.

I have had only one from you since Cromwells death, and that was barely a remembrance of me, an other longer letter indeed I heard of in one from Mr. W: R:<sup>2</sup> but never had it. I shall long to heare that this is safe come to you, when I doe you will heare againe from me who am with much reality and affection your very faithfull humble servant, J. B.

<sup>1</sup> There is no letter of Mordaunt to 'J. B.', probably Dr. John Barwick, of 10 Dec. 1659 in either the Mordaunt MS. or Clarendon MSS.

<sup>2</sup> William Rumbold.

## 213. Lord Mordaunt to Lady Mordaunt.

*London, 13 Jan. 1659-60.*—Cosine, I<sup>1</sup> am unfortunately too late by a weeke or ten dayes, els I had bought the farme at an easie rate; tis confesed here by those wish me not well; Monck no flesh understands; all feare, I like not his proceeding. The Catholique partie are sunke with Lambert,<sup>2</sup> and he is run away. Ere long you shall heare at large from me; your boyes are fine ones as I heare, the youngest has a sore throate and two teeth. My comerades I have no newes of, I came hither in five dayes and a half. I am, yours.

Markham,<sup>3</sup> not your friend, is governor of Windsor. They are up in the west considerably, we want one that is with you, and we are all presbiterians.<sup>4</sup>

## 214. Sir Edward Nicholas to Lord Mordaunt.

*Brussels, 4/14 Jan. 1659-60.*—This<sup>5</sup> is only to acquaint your lordship that there are now sent you by Mr. Titus 10 letters for 200<sup>11</sup> each, 10 for 100<sup>11</sup> a peece and 5 for 50<sup>11</sup> a peece, and they are all at the corner of each letter marked for how much every one of them is: your lordship will likewise receive by him the King's proclamation under his Majesties hand and signett, there is also sent by him a commission for commissioners for the city of London<sup>6</sup> with a large blank for inserting the names<sup>7</sup> of such as shall be held fitt for that worke, and so many names as we here conceived fit to be commissioners are in a paper apart written with Major General Massie's own hand in cipher signed by the King with space left for other names to be inserted by the same hand as by conference with persons in England shall be held fitt, those who are on the place being best able to judge of mens affections and abilities to serve in that business. I hope your lordship will remember to call for the commissions left last summer at Calais with Mr. Booth.<sup>8</sup> I beseech you to be pleased to favour and

<sup>1</sup> Mordaunt returned to England about this date, his presence having been urgently asked for by Hartgill Baron (*supra*, no. 203). His reference is to the attempted royalist rising in the city (*ibid.*, 200); he implies that the restoration could then have been effected had he been in England. Mordaunt was at the same time negotiating for a share in the lease of the King's coal farm of Newcastle, hence the allusion (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 571).

<sup>2</sup> Lambert's troops deserting him, he submitted to the Parliament 4 Jan. 1659-60 (Whitelocke, *Memorials*, p. 694). On 9 Jan. the council of state ordered him to be confined in one of his houses away from London (*ibid.*, p. 694).

<sup>3</sup> Colonel Henry Markham on 4 Jan. took over the command of the garrison of Windsor Castle (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 299).

<sup>4</sup> The letter is unsigned.

<sup>5</sup> Calendared in *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 305, under date 7/17 Jan. 1659-60, Flanders correspondence endorsed 'copy of myne to Lord Mordaunt, sent by Mr. Booth'.

<sup>6</sup> *Infra*, no. 215.

<sup>7</sup> In the copy by Nicholas, this sentence reads 'the names are not inserted, but soe many names as were here conceived to be good men for that service are in a paper apart written'.

<sup>8</sup> In the copy by Nicholas, after the words 'Mr. Booth' the sentence reads as follows, 'I presume your worthy Lady hath acquainted you with what letters she hath received from England from Mr. Heath and Mr. Rowe, which I shall read to the King, Mr. Allestry will be, I suppose the next to be despatched to you I pray, if Mr. Thomas Mompesson shall (as I have directed him privately) repaire to you, be pleased to advise him how and where he may best serve

encourage my good friend Collonell Thomas Mompesson<sup>1</sup> and his officers when they shall repair to your lordship, I will be surety for that gentleman's integritie and fidelity, he being my charge and a person of worth in his countrey, who hath suffered to the losse of a very faire estate for his Majesties service. We are here advertized that the Rump is already much disliked even by the souldiers who are not paid the 5 moneths pay promised them imediatly after they should declare for its reestablishment. I hope you will meet with more certaine intelligence at Calais of the present proceedings in England, and how like the Rump is to continue in power and accordingly govern yourself, for if that shall be settled in peace, I conceive it will be very insecure for your lordship to be in England and the continuance of the Rumps power, will depend how Lambert and Monck approve such a fagg end of a parliament to govern and enslave the nation. What letters come to my hand, I shall carefully present to your worthy lady, whom I shall readily serve in all things in the power of your lordships most humble servant, E. N.

**215. Commission from the King for raising horse and foot in London.**

*Brussels, 4/14 Jan. 1659-60.*—Charles by the grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the Faith &c. To our trusty and beloved 111, 91. 16. 3. 7. 122. 77. 60. 990. 820. and to every of them greeting. We doe by these presents constitute and appoint you our commissioners for our citty of London and the liberties thereof, giving you or the major part of you full power to raise leavy and arme souldiers both horse and foote for the opposing and destroying those who are in rebellion against us. And to appoint colonels and all inferior officers to command the souldiers so raised. And likewise to make choise of any person to be commander in chief over them for any one particular designe, or as long as you shall think fitt; or untill our pleasure be further signified. And with those forces to cause any castle, fort, place or garrison within our said citty or liberties thereof which is or shall be possessed by any in rebellion against us to be seized on for us. And to fight kill and destroy all who are in armes against our authoritie. And we doe further give you power to raise moneys by an equall and impartiall way, of contribution for the maintenance of those forces which you shall levy. Or of such as shall by your order or consent be brought into our citty or the liberties thereof for the carrying on of our service; And to doe all acts necessary for the support of the same: And wee require all our loving subjects of that our citty and the liberties thereof to obey all such orders and directions as you shall make in pursuance of this our commission. And for so doing this shall be to you and to them a sufficient warrant given at our court at Bruxells this 14th day of January 1660 in the eleventh yeare of our raigne.<sup>2</sup>

his Majestie and favour him with what may, he being I judge a very worthy person and has lost a very considerable estate for his loyalty. I shall be in paine till I heare of your Lordships safe passage and arrival'.

<sup>1</sup> *Colonel Thomas Mompesson*, royalist, of New Sarum, Wilts, was involved in the rising in 1655 (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, i. 747, 753; Ludlow, *Memoirs*, i. 404; Thurloe, *S.P.*, iii. 366). He corresponded with Sir Edward Nicholas under the pseudonym Thomas Man (*The Nicholas papers*, iv (1920), 207).

<sup>2</sup> The commission referred to in *supra*, no. 214. The cipher numbers probably correspond to the list of persons drawn up in cipher by Major-general Massey, but not in the Mordaunt or Clarendon MSS.

**216. Instructions from the King for the commissioners in London.**

[*Undated.*—1. The <sup>1</sup> commissioners appointed by the King in March 1659 are to choose a commander-in-chief and colonels of horse and foot. 2. They are to inform those in the city who will join them of the King's resolution to uphold the privileges of the city and of his desire to owe his restoration to it. 3. They are to endeavour to win to the King's service officers and men of the army in the city, pardon to be offered to all except regicides. 4. They are to prevent premature attempts at insurrection. 5. If the lord mayor <sup>2</sup> will join the King's cause, or failing this, if another can be chosen who will do so, then this commission will become unnecessary. The command of the militia in the city will become his, and if the Tower can be secured, a suitable lieutenant chosen by him, shall be put in command of it. 6. The commissioners for the city are to communicate with the King's commissioners of the general trust, so that they may receive assistance from neighbouring counties. All are to try to suppress animosities as to titles and commands.]

**217. Additional instructions from the King to the commissioners.**

*Brussels, 4/14 Jan. 1659-60.*—1. Having <sup>3</sup> perused the severall commissions and instructions which wee gave to you in March last, and what wee have since sent to you, wee see very little notwithstanding the great revolutions of all kindes which have since fallen out to be altered or added to what wee then directed, and doe therefore in the first place appoint and direct that as many of our said commissioners meete as can with security together, and then that they carefully reade over all that wee have formerly sent to them, together with these our additionall instructions. The frequent reading whereof will supply them with our sence upon most things which either at present relate to our service, or upon any accidents wee can foresee may concerne it.

2. We would have the earles of N: <sup>4</sup> and Ch: and the other persons who were named by us to you the L: M: <sup>5</sup> to be inserted into our commission if they are willing to act in the trust, and because you will have alwayes use of the councill and concurrence of all persons of great interest and affection to our service who yet cannot with convenience, or it may be in these jelous times are not willing to meete with persons not entirely known to them of how unquestionable honor soever. You must use all possible care and dexterity to communicate with them eyther by one of your selves who is best known and acquainted with the severall persons, or by employing

<sup>1</sup> Printed in the *C.S.P.*, iii. 643-4 under date 2/12 Jan. 1659-60; also in Barwick, *Vita Johani. Barwick* (1721 ed.), pp. 158-61; Clarendon MSS., vol. lxxviii, fos. 77-8, draft by Hyde.

<sup>2</sup> The lord mayor of London was *Thomas Alleyne*, elected 27 Sept. 1659. He was a member of the Grocers' Company, sheriff in 1654-56 and was one of the farmers of the excise (Weinstock, 'The position of London in national affairs 1658-60' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of London)).

<sup>3</sup> These additional instructions are not among the Clarendon MSS.

<sup>4</sup> The earl of Northampton and the earl of Chesterfield by Mordaunt's direction had been approached by Sir John Grenville by 20 Jan. 1659-60, and had expressed their willingness to serve (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 527).

<sup>5</sup> Lord Mordaunt.

some other person well known to you and them, whom you may entrust to impart all particulars of moment to them, and to returne their counsell and advice to you ; and when you finde them willing in such a way to communicate you shall doe well, to some persons of eminency and ability to serve us, to transmitt even the sight of our commissions and instructions to you, upon which they will be the better able to send their advice and otherwise to serve us. And you shall doe well to let them know, (espetically the marquis of He: <sup>1</sup> and the earle of So: <sup>2</sup>) if you have a sure way of sending and hearing from them that you will be ready to follow their advice as if they were sitting with you by vertue of the same commission.

3. Since you cannot expect to be free from the malice and envie of many who will yet pretend to wish well to our service, you will take all possible care to keepe an entire unity amongst your selves. And that in all matters debated the minor parte acquiesce and rest in the judgment and determination of the major parte as if it were their own without declaring afterwards to any that they were of another opinion, but advance what is resolved upon as if you were unanimous in the conclusion. And that in all matters of moment to be done there, or of advice to be sent to us upon which wee are to proceed, that there be at least foure of your number together, and of the same opinion, and as many of the rest consulted with as is possible. And if you cannot at the time necessary meete so many together, that you communicate in such a manner that your opinions may appeare the same.

4. You shall carefully issue out the commissions wee have entrusted to you for the severall countyes in such a manner as may as much as is possible prevent the factions and animosities which naturally arise upon competition of command, or any other preference, and to that purpose you shall pitch upon two at the least of every county to whom you shall committ the care of the execution of those our commissions, who may agree upon such other persons of the most eminence and cleare affections and interest as are fitt to be our commissioners for that county, who upon meeting together or as many of them as shall first be best disposed to trust each other, shall in the first place make choice of some experienced and good officer generall who shall be alwayes advised by our said commissioners in matters for the advancement of our service in that county ; and the said commissioners likewise deliver out such other commissions for regiments and governments as they shall think fitt, and shall receive from you of those we have entrusted in your hands to that purpose. And you shall do well to give them a copy of that instruction which wee formerly sent to you for the prevention of all faction, and emulation of command, of which the common enemy will receive all the benefitt, and wee the reproach.

5. It will not be necessary at first to insert all the names of those who are to be made use of as commissioners in the severall countyes, but only of so many as may both consist with the necessary secrecy, and be like to foresee what is at first necessary to be done, and to give reputation to it. And afterwards such others may be added as are most equall to the trust and willing to appeare in it, which some will doe sooner, and others later, who yet must not be neglected nor undervalued.

6. You understand by what we have said of the present state of affaires here that our coming to you wilbe sooner or later, as the distractions continue or diminish.

<sup>1</sup> Marquis of Hertford.

<sup>2</sup> The earl of Southampton.



And we shall not need to advise you, as much as is possible to restraints and suppresses all unseasonable commotions and insurrections, and that our friends do not appear in armes before wee come to them, except upon such a notorious advantage by conjunction with some party in power, or by possessing themselves of such an important place as may facilitate our coming to you by the reputation it will give us. Or except in such a conjuncture in which you finde it absolutely necessary for your own preservation against some act of outrage and massacre designed. And in that case the resistance ought to be with a generall resolution and not seeme to sitt still as lesse concerned.

7. You having a declaration of ours in your hands signed by our selves, can best judge upon consultation together, and adviseing with your severall friends, what tyme it will be most seasonable to be published. And if there be any addition which is judged necessary to be added to it you will advertize us of it ; and wee shall further doe what we shall thereupon judge best for the advancement of our service.

8. There appeares so many inconveniencies, to fall out for want of a stock of moneyes to be issued out upon all emergent occasions, which wee are in no degree able to supply, being our self not at ease by reason of the straights wee are in, as is well known to some of you, that wee cannot but earnestly recommend it to you, that some contribution of money be procured to remayne in the hands of such a fit person as shall be chosen by you to yssue it by your order for the sending expresse hither of messengers to and fro in the Kingdome for relief and support of those you finde necessary in the service, and not able of themselves to beare the charges of it, and for reliefe of such as shall be seized upon and put in prison, and for defraying all other necessary charges you must be at for carrying on the service. And if you finde that any money remaines in any mans hands that hath beene designed for these or the like services, or for buying of armes, you shall desire such persons so entrusted to deliver the said money into your hands, or to send the same to us, or at least to give us some account why they still retayne the same in their hands, when one service in all respects so much suffers for want of necessary supplies.

9. You shall let us know how you finde our friends in all places provided with armes and ammunition, the want wherof wee much apprehend, and what wayes they propose to themselves to be better supplied.

10. Wee wish you should upon all extraordinary occasions send some discrete person to us fit to be entrusted to give us a more particular account than letters can bring, and who upon conference with us may returne with satisfaction to us in all particulars. And no such person shall be put to a long attendance here for his dispatch.

11. Wee neede not enlarge in directing you how to behave yourselves in any matter or treaty with those who can be able to serve us and are willing to return to their duty but must referre you to the commission you had formerly from us to that purpose and our instructions thereupon.

12. You shall maintaine a good correspondence with our commissioners of the citty of London and libertyes thereof, and be ready to give them your advice and assistance in all things within your power, and which they shall desire, and if they have neede of any officers to command or serve in their militia, and shall desire to be

supplied by you, you shall help them with the best officers you can, And likewise dispose such officers, what titles soever they have had before, to accept of such charges and commands as they are willing to conferre on them, without insisting upon superiority, and therein wholly to betake themselves to the advancement of our service.

You the Lord Mordaunt and Sir John Greenville shall make it your particular care to finde the best and speediest way to let Lieut. General Monck know the kinnesse and good opinion wee have ever had of him,<sup>1</sup> which the later of you may easily doe, the relation considered between you, And as he alwayes appeared of a publique spirit, so by your discreete and seasonable applications, wee doubt not of reaping such advantages, as will oblige us to the highest considerations of him.

### 218. Lord Mordaunt to the King.

*Calais, Jan. 1659-60.*—Sir, Just as I arrived<sup>2</sup> the English letters came, and severall I have seene so positively contradict the print that I perswade my self I may come seasonably to serve your Majestie.

With God's blessing I hope to be in England tomorrow or Monday morning and in London as soon as good horses will carry me.

By the accounts I heare, tis the generall opinion if your Majestie could have landed 3000 men, that Kent itselfe would have raisd an army might for numbers have reasonably disputed your right both with Monck and Lambert although united.

Sir, I am fully satisfied with the inclination of that county, and for the interest of it, the appearance it made before Colchester business was so considerable that I need say no more to that poynt.

Here is great hopes from my Lord Fairfax his being in armes,<sup>3</sup> and from those considerable towns in the west who declare for a free parliament<sup>4</sup> as all our letters say, though the interest of the Rump makes the newsbook tell an other story.

Sir, I think it my duty to let your Majestie know that Oniati<sup>5</sup> and the Count Salazar<sup>6</sup> desired I would find out some way to offer Lockhart two hundred thousand

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Grenville was not able to see General Monck and to present the King's letter to him till 19 March 1659-60 (*supra*, p. xix).

<sup>2</sup> This letter was written on the eve of Mordaunt's journey from Calais to London. He had left Brussels by 6 Jan (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 301) and he hoped to arrive by Monday, 8/18 Jan.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Fairfax with three troops of Colonel Lilburne's regiment and various gentlemen had appeared in arms at Marston Moor on 30-31 Dec. 1659 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 293).

<sup>4</sup> At Exeter, the gentlemen of Devon on 28 Jan. 1659-60 signed a declaration for a redress of grievances and the return of the secluded members and sent it to General Monck (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, pp. 330-1). They also, through the recorder of Exeter on 14/24 Jan. 1659-60, presented to the speaker a petition to the same effect (*The Clarke papers*, iv (1901), 258-9).

At Gloucester and Bristol there were also demonstrations in favour of a free parliament (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 525).

<sup>5</sup> *Messire Marc Albert de Ogniate* (d. 1674), burgomaster of Bruges, son of Jean Ayayola de Onate of Ayayola in Biscay, secretary of the chamber to the Infanta Isabella, and chamberlain to the Archduke Albert; his mother was the daughter of Jeremy Heath (*Archaeologia* (1853), p. 348; Clarendon, *Hist.*, xv. 132).

<sup>6</sup> *Count Salazar* was engaged with Ogniate in the plan to bribe Lockhart to surrender Dunkirk to Charles II or to the King of Spain (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 532).

dollars to be paid at Middleburgh or Antwerp upon the rendition of Dunkirk either to your Majestie or the King of Spaine.<sup>1</sup> I heare from a very good hand Lockhart suspects the garrison so much that he never goes to bedd till nine in the morning, and that, though he cajole the foot so fauningly, they have lately taken the occasion to complement him with snowballs, which he seems to take very unkindly. This day sennight Lambert sent a bark from Newcastle to Dunkirk with a letter to the garrison to assure them he would continue to assert the army's interest, though Fleetwood had complied, and desired them to depend on him for protection, and for the security of their arrears. Lawson sent from the Downes an express of the same nature to which Lockhart made no reply, having just before sent into England Lieutenant Colonell Fleetwood<sup>2</sup> and four other officers to assure the army party he would be firme to them.<sup>3</sup>

### 219. The Queen of Bohemia to Lady Mordaunt.

*The Hague, 31 Dec./10 Jan. 1659-60.*—Oneale<sup>4</sup> tells me you are come to Bruxells which makes me to write this and tell you that now you are so neare you shall heare often from me, but with hope that you will be so honest as to come and vizit your friends in Holland, els woe be to you for you shall be fearfully chidden. There is little news here only of the distractions in England which God increase, I doubt not but you have more particulars of it than I have. Also there is no other talk but of women with child. I heare you are of the number as wel as your friends, here it is so cold as I can write no more, only to tell you that I have enquired from your mother<sup>5</sup> what is become of Will: <sup>6</sup> Lyttleton. She writes he means not to returne, I confess I wonder at his carriage in the business. Since he went he hath written nothing to any of his fellows, I believe Collonell Wheeler<sup>7</sup> will tell you of it. Let him tell it you and if his brother Charles<sup>8</sup> be there I pray acquaint him with it. I am loth to

<sup>1</sup> These were the terms on which Mordaunt through Colonel Nugent and General Schomberg was trying to secure Dunkirk (*Carte, Ormonde papers*, ii. 273). Lockhart had been reported by the Venetian ambassador in France as wanting to make his fortune by offering the place by sale (*Cal. S.P. Venetian*, 1659-61, p. 93), and after his return to Dunkirk on 1/11 Dec. (Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, ii. 298) was reported by General Schomberg to be in correspondence with the marquis de Caracena (*ibid.*, ii. 336). Caracena's letters to Don Luis de Haro of 25 Dec./4 Jan., 31 Dec./10 Jan., and 7/17 Jan. suggest that Dunkirk must be obtained by treaty with England, or by force, but the council of state in Madrid preferred the method of negotiation (Guizot, *Richard Cromwell* (1868), French edn., ii. 417-20).

<sup>2</sup> Lieutenant-colonel William Fleetwood of Colonel Alsop's regiment of foot (Firth, *Regimental history*, ii. 679).

<sup>3</sup> The letter is unsigned.

<sup>4</sup> Daniel O'Neill (*supra*, p. 104, n. 2).

<sup>5</sup> Lady Herbert.

<sup>6</sup> *William Lyttleton*, royalist; youngest son of Sir Thomas Lyttleton of Hagley, Worcestershire, captain of horse. Usher to Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia (Nash, *Collection for the history of Worcestershire* (1786), i. 20). Took part with his brothers in Aug. 1659 in the attempted rising at the Wrekin, Salop (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 312).

<sup>7</sup> *Colonel Charles Wheeler*, royalist, of London. Compounded in 1649 (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, iii. 1960), took part in the rising in the Wrekin, Aug. 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 312); 26 Jan. 1659-60 Mordaunt asked for him to be sent over to England (*ibid.*, iv. 532).

<sup>8</sup> *Charles Lyttleton* (*supra*, no. 31).

do anything that may charge his friends who have so much suffered for the King, though I have great reason to take it very ill from him whom I gave leave to goe for England because he said his fortune depended on it, and promised to returne in three weeks. I pray let his brother Charles know this and know your self that I am most constantly your friend, dear Madam, E.

## 220. From the King.

[1/11 Jan. 1659-60.—The <sup>1</sup> King has not been negligent in making ~~arrangements~~ but the transportation of 3,000 or 4,000 men not an easy matter. Those numbers are in readiness but the King has not yet had a declaration from either France or Spain <sup>2</sup> pledging definite assistance. The King will try to arrange for two descents, one from Flanders the other from France under his brother the duke of York. But it will not be wise to attempt this with a handful of men or unless conditions in England are favourable to the enterprise.]

## 221. Sir Herbert <sup>3</sup> Lunsford to Lord Mordaunt.

2/12 Jan. 1659-60.—My lord, I waite impatiently for your commands, I have not had the honour to heare from you since I tooke my leave of you. We being ignorant of proceedings are full of doubts, fearing the precious time wastes, be pleased to mind him who is passionately your obedient servant which cannot be altered but by want of breath in your lordships most obedient humble servant, Her. Lunsford.

## 222. Lord Mordaunt and other royalists to the King.

13 Jan. 1659-60.—Wee <sup>4</sup> find it too difficult to make any warrantable conclusion of Monck's intentions, or of the finall resolution of the presbiterians, and therefore hope your Majestie will not judge of our diligence by the account we most humbly present you. As soon as ever we receive any certaine or probable light which way, or to what end these considerable bodyes move, we shall find it our duty immediately to dispatch an express to your Majesty that accordingly your Majestie may take just measures of what your Majestie apart or in conjunction with any of those may think fit to undertake. However we think it our duty to desire your Majestie to strengthen

<sup>1</sup> Printed in full in C.S.P., iii. 642-3, under date 12 Jan. 1659-60, and the heading, 'The State of the King's affairs sent by Lord Mordaunt'.

<sup>2</sup> See on the attitude of *Spain* to the suggestion of definite assistance to Charles II (Guizot, *Richard Cromwell* (1868 edn.), ii. 417-20).

<sup>3</sup> Described in the heading to the letter as 'Sir Henry'.

<sup>4</sup> This letter is the same as that given in Clarendon MSS., vol. lxxviii, fos. 145 and 149. Fo. 145 in H. Baron's hand is signed in undeciphered ciphers. Fo. 149 in Rumbold's hand is signed as from Lord Mordaunt, Sir Thomas Peyton, Sir John Grenville and William Legge. Only the Mordaunt MS. gives a fifth signature, possibly that of John Seymour.

yourself all you possibly can, and that those supplies the crowns assist your Majesty with may be ready upon the first faire opportunity. Md: Pn: Gli: Lg: Sr: <sup>1</sup>

### 223. Lord Mordaunt to Lady Mordaunt.

London, 17 Jan. 1659-60.—The little interest I left and found here has raised 5000 li. without bond termes or condition, to be imployd in making a purchase may put me in a condition to buye the land I have sold, if it succeed his Majestie will be obliged to Alderman Robinson <sup>2</sup> and Langham <sup>3</sup> for the money. My expence was only a few courteous words which I shall never recon to the King in discharge of what I was borne to owe him.

The officers here have been so often changed, that tis but naturall to believe the souldiers are not so affectionate to those that head them now, that they will refuse money from any hand whatsoever, but undoubtedly we use the fittest person living to them which is Colonel Ingoldsby, <sup>4</sup> for he may discourse them being of the Rumpe, and we know they had followed him into the citty would those wretches at the time have given assurances of pay and arrears; And had not 210 <sup>5</sup> been afraid of his Majesties restoration by tumult as he may please to remember I read him out of Mr. W: R: <sup>6</sup> and Mr. [blank in MS.] s letters, to this I can write, he is the most [blank in MS]] of any amongst us, if once his reason be satisfied the undertaking be counsellable.

B: M: G: I: Coll: <sup>7</sup> and I are like to agree, but if not to attempt here I am verily perswaded I could carry Portsmouth. If I undertake it and succeed, the King must be sure to land, with or without forces, els I shall lose most of the considerable persons who act on a cleere account.

My escapes are so eminent, that I question not God will blesse my undertakings,

<sup>1</sup> See previous note. John Seymour, royalist; of Stokenham, Devon; son of Sir Edward Seymour of Berry Pomeroy; brother of Henry Seymour (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 267); compounded for his delinquency in 1649 (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, iii. 2063); engaged in royalist activities in 1655 (Thurloe, *S.P.*, iii. 190), and in 1657 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 409); 9 Feb. 1659-60 he was sent to the King with important despatches from London (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 556).

<sup>2</sup> Alderman John Robinson, royalist; nephew of Laud (Sharpe, *London and the kingdom* (1894), ii. 401); President Honourable Artillery Company in London; M.P. for London 1659; sheltered Mordaunt and Sir Thomas Middleton after the failure of the rising of 1659 (Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 573); Jan. 1659-60 Mordaunt meeting him daily (*C.S.P.*, iii. 650); 1660 knighted (Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 615); 1662 Lord Mayor of London (Sharpe, *op. cit.*, ii. 401).

<sup>3</sup> Alderman John Langham, royalist; impeached in 1648 (Sharpe, *op. cit.*, ii. 273); deprived of his aldermanry for royalism; in 1654 was elected M.P. for London but was excluded; 1660 restored to his aldermanry (*ibid.*, ii. 383). Mordaunt planned to apply funds raised from Robinson and Langham: 'to buying over soldiers in London' (*supra*, no. 209; *C.S.P.*, iii. 551).

<sup>4</sup> Colonel Ingoldsby (*supra*, no. 56) was to deal with the soldiers, whose pay was in arrears. On 8 Dec. 1659, the common council rejected the petition of householders, for securing the pay of such troops as would engage to secure the peace of the city (*C.S.P.*, iii. 631).

<sup>5</sup> 210 is the earl of Manchester. See *infra*, no. 229, and *C.S.P.*, iii. 664.

<sup>6</sup> William Rumbold in his letter to the King of 23 Dec. 1659, blamed the earl of Manchester for irresolution (*C.S.P.*, iii. 635). The other writer is possibly Dr. John Barwick, who was writing letters for Rumbold (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 497).

<sup>7</sup> 'B.M.G.I.Coll' refer to Major-general Browne and Colonel Richard Ingoldsby, with whom Mordaunt acted (*supra*, no. 209).

and you would wonder to have seen the satisfaction people had when they knew I was come. By Robinsons means and Langhams, the citty purse is open to me, if the attempt take, and they promise me a constant supply for the army. If we get master the King will be restored without termes.

I finde severall men believe the worke is almost done, and then though I have run all these risques, and tis evident to all the world what I have done (but those envious malicious people who will still lessen any thing I doe) I shall not be amazed if I have no fortune at court, for there is a chance in that, and few upright persons grow great; yet I am perswaded the King believes me very honest, though he know not how I have, and how I doe serve him, many you know taking that upon them, I have ventured very faire to compass. But my return will be from God for whose sake I first resolved to expose my self. And indeed I could never sit and think how this afflicted prince suffered and was abused and ill and loosely served, and how the nation groaned under the pressure; but I condemned myself for being so private, and yet my strong love to you gave me such satisfaction as almost drew me from my duty: But God that protected me so particularly will make me instrumental to his glory, and though I am very unworthy, he may choose me the rather to shew all the world tis his own hand and nothing of man.

After this blessed day which I no wise question but we shall suddainly see, you and I will retire and serve God all our lives, and teach our children to serve God and be good subjects, for only those he will blesse at last; I question not but they will be brave and it must be our care to make them good so far as education will lead to it. Indeed they are sweet children, the yongest has been very ill of his health, but is past danger as I heare. These Cosin, are wealth enough with content, which I hope we shall ever have.

I have writ to the King but am afraid to aske how he looks on my services, least I heare what would give me some trouble. For betwixt you and I love and valew the person of that man next you, so know me just, honest, and satisfied with whatsoever happens it being Gods will.

I forgot to tell you I expect a very good account from our friends in Ireland, where I am sure Colonel Ingoldsby<sup>1</sup> will doe more than his part, and so will his relations; I think to venture to meet Lawson but I am not yet resolved, least I should be caught,<sup>2</sup> he offers me his honor for safe conference, Morley<sup>3</sup> likewise would treat. But if the King should think I make an ill contract for him I am unhappy.

[Blank in MS.] 174,<sup>4</sup> and the Catholiques are almost broke, he gave Lambert 5000 l. that day he marched out, and assured to raise Surrey Sussex and Norfolk, this is true. 210 acts clearly for Northumberland, and he and Bedford<sup>5</sup> are the

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Henry Ingoldsby, after helping to secure Windsor Castle for the parliament, returned to Ireland and with his father-in-law, Sir Hardress Waller, was remodelling the Irish Army (Firth, *Regimental history*, ii. 645).

<sup>2</sup> Lawson had declared for the parliament, but was described by Brodrick as unwilling to co-operate with royalists (C.S.P., iii. 628, 637).

<sup>3</sup> Morley hesitated to follow the advice of John Evelyn to declare for the King (Evelyn, *Diary* (ed. Bray (1879), iii. 182).

<sup>4</sup> In *supra*, no. 36, '174' is Sir Horatio Townshend, who was engaged in negotiation with the Catholics.

<sup>5</sup> See notes on *supra*, no. 127.

most rigid. My brother <sup>1</sup> is with the first and is to have a brigade of horse. I am fully satisfied with B: M: G: having at large conferred with him, but have now received an ugly letter from 216.<sup>2</sup>

224. Lord Mordaunt to — [blank in MS.].

London, 18 Jan. 1659-60.—That this place is full of confusion you will easily believe, but how full could it be described would amaze you. The Catholiques fallen in a moment from the height of their hopes, exhausted by their large supplies to Lambert,<sup>3</sup> irresolute where their present interest lyes. The sectaries declining by Vanes expulsion<sup>4</sup> and Salway's<sup>5</sup> imprisonment. The whole party of Fleetwood and Lambert expelled by the active violence of Cowper and Morley. The city in suspense whether to comply with Monck or withstand him; the army here strangely increased, upon free quarter, giving daily fresh occasions of complaint and dissatisfaction, yet no expedient found to raise money. The condition of the navy deplorable, the men sick, yet kept as slaves and not permitted more than the sight of their native soile, in briefe confusion covers the face of the whole land, and the kirk-men exalt their hornes. All my feare is aristocracy, for trust me I have observed that spirit here long etc. and which way 216<sup>6</sup> leans is not certainly known, but I feare he is nought as you will find by a letter I sent his Majestie.

I find my old friends of the Knot still with earnestness justifieing Sir R. W.<sup>7</sup> and my Lord Bedford in chiefe. Now I leave you to judge though 255<sup>8</sup> say to the King he will have no more to doe with him, whether you believe it or no, he and 131<sup>9</sup> have writ to the King and take the case right as it now stands; but 14 days last past t'was quite an other story.

The lords joyne in the trust and act as commissioners, but my Lord Chester-

<sup>1</sup> Henry Mordaunt, 2nd earl of Peterborough (1624?-97), royalist; eldest son of John Mordaunt, 1st earl of Peterborough; served first in parliamentary army but after April 1643 for the King. He compounded finally for his estate in 1651 (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, ii. 1208). He did not share in John Mordaunt's activities for the restoration. *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> '216' is Monck. See *infra*, no. 224, n. 6.

<sup>3</sup> The £5,000 granted to Lambert (*supra*, no. 223).

<sup>4</sup> Sir Henry Vane was expelled the house by parliament on 9 Jan. 1659-60 (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 201).

<sup>5</sup> Richard Salway (1615-85), parliamentary; 4th son of Humphrey Salway, M.P. for Worcestershire in Nov. 1640; M.P. for Appleby in 1645; 1646 one of five civil commissioners sent to Ireland; member of the third and fourth councils of state and a commissioner for regulating the navy under the commonwealth; Aug. 1654 ambassador to Constantinople; May 1659 one of the committee of safety and council of state (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 80, 84); Dec. 1659 one of the mediators between the army and the fleet (*ibid.*, ii. 181); 17 Jan. 1659-60 he was ordered to the Tower, but 21 Jan. allowed to retire to the country (*C.J.*, vii. 813, 818). Died 1685. *D.N.B.*

<sup>6</sup> '216' refers to Monck. The letter alluded to is probably that of Mordaunt to the King, 16 Jan. 1659-60 (*C.S.P.*, iii. 649-52).

<sup>7</sup> Sir Richard Willis.

<sup>8</sup> '255' is probably Colonel John Russell, who wrote to the King on 13 Jan. 1659-60 that he would obey his commands as to Sir Richard Willis (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 520).

<sup>9</sup> '131' is probably Sir William Compton, like Colonel Russell a member of the Sealed Knot. He and Russell wrote to the King on 13 Jan. 1659-60 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 520).

fields <sup>1</sup> misfortune proves very unlucky, I must doe him this right, never man suffered more then he did to shun fighting, but the insolence of Mr. Woolley puld the sad judgment upon his head. What my lord will doe none knowes, he kild him yesterday. The severe searches for Lambert <sup>2</sup> and the other eight put me in great danger, but I am in God's hands and serving my prince and hope I am secure. It concernes you to prepare and strengthen for you both have and will have faire opportunities. I am sir, your most humble servant, Mordaunt.

### 225. Sir Herbert <sup>3</sup> Lunsford to Lord Mordaunt.

8/18 Jan. 1659-60.—My lord, This is the second letter that I have taken the presumption to trouble your lordship with, since I had the honor to wait on you last having not received your commands. I am very desirous to know what the incomparable person's commands are relating to me, that I might put my self in a fitt posture of readiness for it. If your lordship please to honour me with your commands with addresse au Roy Henry a Abbeville they will not faile. My lord, your lordships obedient humble servant, Her. Lunsford.

### 226. Lord Mordaunt to Sir Robert Moray.

19 Jan. 1659-60.—I have so many and important affaires that you must be contented with bitts and scrapps. Believe then, and with my most humble duty tell the Queene 'tis generally believed the King cannot any longer be kept out unless 216 <sup>4</sup> proves divell. But he would be restored gloriously did France at this time afford the least supply, or would he please to expose his person which now undoubtedly would doe it; this though all wish none dare advise, so there it stopps. Most of the great towns have already declared for a free parliament or 48.<sup>5</sup> I need not tell you, tis the same as if it were for the King; only 216 can give interruption to his speedy restoration; what he really is none knows. The councill of state is as good as dissolved, the speaker quitted, a perfect confusion over the nation and as it now stands, were the King here I could bring any man he pleased to treat with him. Lambert has in most mens opinions an aftergame, he is here very busy, if he appeare t'will prove bloody, my sence is he will scarce make a party. For God's sake let me heare of Lord Jermins <sup>6</sup> returne and what he has done, for if we had the least assurance of, I can have one of the best sea towns in England. My most humble duty

<sup>1</sup> On 17 Jan. 1660 the earl of Chesterfield killed in a duel a Mr. Woolly, son of the Rev. Dr. Woolly, who attended the court in Paris as a preacher (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 527; Evelyn, *Diary* (edited Bray (1879), ii. 33). The earl fled to France and was pardoned at the restoration.

<sup>2</sup> On 13 Jan. 1659-60 the council of state ordered the arrest of Colonels Lambert, Desborough, Ashfield, Barrow, Berry, Kelsey, Cobbett, Packer and Major Creed for disobedience to the order of 9 Jan. committing them to leave London (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 309).

<sup>3</sup> I.C. rectly: 'Sir Henry' in MS.

<sup>4</sup> '216' refers to Monck.

<sup>5</sup> By the end of Dec. 1659 Hull, Portsmouth, Plymouth and other towns had declared for a free parliament or the return of the members secluded in 1648 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 483, 498).

<sup>6</sup> Lord Jermyn was sent in Jan. to the French court to renew the appeal for assistance for Charles II (*Carte, Ormonde*, iii. 699-701; *Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 540).



to the Princesse<sup>1</sup> and offer her my service to attend her highness when she goes to Vienna to bee Empresse. Just as I write this the souldiers have seized Newgate which causes a rumor. God bless you and us.

### 227. Lord Mordaunt to Lord Jermyn.

19 Jan. 1659-60.—My lord, Our many changes here have so inclined the people to that interest can only serve them, that though I dare not advise, I deliver my opinion playnly in the poynt of the Kings coming that he will infallibly carry his business with little or no opposition if he appeare in person either with or without forces, if without by treaty, if with a body without tearmes. I am so concerned for him that I am uneasy to heare what advantage his enemies take to traduce him by reason of his stay. But yet I do not counsell his remove, though I would almost give my head that he were here. Many considerable towns have declared as Exeter, Plimmouth, Bristole for a free parliament or 48, all center in the King. If this finde you returned, and France will assist,<sup>2</sup> I think no time is to be lost, if on the way let me begg of you to hast to Paris, and if you can give me any assurance of being seconded, I dare assure you I will be in a considerable seaport ready to receive you, in fine every way I looke upon the King as restored, and nothing can prevent it under God but Monck, who may be ours too. All we want is the King's person which if you will bring us, you will blesse the whole nation. Lambert some think has an aftergame,<sup>3</sup> but my opinion is he will scarce be able to raise a partie. All here is confusion. Your cipher is so bad I can scarce write by it, els I had given you a larger account.

### The state of the army here.<sup>4</sup>

[Mordaunt believes the army as a whole or in part could be bought over. £15,000 has been raised through Colonel Ingoldsby and the aldermen Browne and Robinson, but unless the money is used quickly the contract is void. The soldiers show themselves little controlled by their officers. Encloses a paper from the earl of Crawford.<sup>5</sup> Massey makes writer fear 216<sup>6</sup> is a devil.]

<sup>1</sup> The Emperor Leopold did not marry the Princess Henriette, youngest daughter of Charles I, but the Infanta Marie Marguerite of Spain on 25 April 1666 (Legrelle, *La diplomatie française et la succession d'Espagne*, i, 102).

<sup>2</sup> After seeing Lord Jermyn, Mazarin was still not prepared to intervene in English affairs (D'Avenel, *Lettres de Cardinal Mazarin*, ix (1906), 480).

<sup>3</sup> See on Lambert's intrigues, Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, ii, 326, and *The Nicholas papers*, iv (1920), 196.

<sup>4</sup> This is out of place here. It is a section of the letter of Lord Mordaunt to the King 16 Jan. 1659-60 (*supra*, no. 209) and should have formed part of it. It is printed in C.S.P., iii. 651-2).

<sup>5</sup> John Lindsay, 17th earl of Crawford (1596-1678), son of Robert, 9th Lord Lindsay of the Byres; 1641 one of the covenanting Scotch nobles; 1644 treasurer and earl of Crawford; 1646 one of the Scotch commissioners with the Newcastle propositions to the King; 1648 he headed the 'engagers' but on the defeat of the duke of Hamilton was deprived of his offices; 1650 supported Charles II; 1651 to 3 March 1660 imprisoned in England; Jan. 1660-61 lord high treasurer of Scotland; 1663 he was deprived of his office for opposing the restoration of episcopacy. Died 1678. D.N.B.

The paper enclosed by Mordaunt from the earl of Crawford is probably that dated 14 Jan. 1659-60 (Clarendon MSS., vol. lxxviii, fos. 157-8).

<sup>6</sup> 216 is Monck.

## 228. Hartgill Baron to Lady Mordaunt.

19 Jan. 1659-60.—I received yours and you may assure yourself, I shall fully obey your commands. Those letters I brought from the King for severall persons have taken the same effect I designed them for. All persons now addresse only to my lord in obedience to them, and the Knot is routed by them, no body now asking where they are. Money is now our only want but I hope ere long we shall be supplied. I have written to you by an expresse that goes hence this night something concerning my own particular which I humbly recommend to your and my old friends care. Your friend<sup>1</sup> is very well, and no care in me shall be wanting to preserve him so, and be confident I am with all sincerity and most really your obedient servant, Hartgill Baron.

There are seven or eight reversiones graunted to clerks of the privy seale by the late King, and all to sufferers for his service which I knew not of. Now the King being most like to come in by a treaty, its believed all patents for offices will be nuld, if they stand, other sufferers will expect (I finde here) before me, so myne signifies nothing. My desire is to be certaine of some place and being assured all the Kings servants of a lower sphere will continue what ever others doe, out of my zeale and most affectionate duty to the King's person, my ambition is to be his household servant, to that purpose I have made enquire and am advised by my friends to desire the clerk controller's place of the household,<sup>2</sup> being encouraged. I may with modesty pretend to it, and am capable of performing it. Though all I have done is but my dutie, and had I a thousand times more I would frankly venture all, and my life too for so good a prince. And since rewards are to be distributed, I think I may pretend with modestie to it. I have these twelve years served the King and have run as many risques as any man and with the expence of fiveteen hundred pounds. Besides I served the last King till Oxford was surrendered<sup>3</sup>; I say this not to any other purpose but that other mouthes may be stopt who think all pretenders but themselves immodest. If I have this I will surrender my other patent.

## 229. Lord Mordaunt to Sir Edward Hyde.

[London, 19 Jan. 1659-60.—Says<sup>4</sup> that the present government in England would be shortlived but for the rancours and emulations among the King's friends. Some who have refused the King's trust have thrown themselves on the presbyterian interest and are now asking terms they would have blushed to receive a few months

<sup>1</sup> Lord Mordaunt.

<sup>2</sup> Feb. 1661 Hartgill Baron was granted in reversion for 31 years at a yearly fee of £4 the office of keeping the garden on the south side of Windsor Castle (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1660-61, p. 522). 29 Nov. 1661 he was granted an annuity of £200 for 31 years for his services (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1661-62, p. 161).

<sup>3</sup> He compounded for his delinquency in 1650, but his fine was very small—£1 13s. 4d. (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, iv. 2516).

<sup>4</sup> Clarendon MSS., vol. lxvii, fos. 274-5, partly deciphered cipher endorsed by H. Hyde, Calendared in *Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 522, under the date 16 Jan. ? 1659-60.

before. Asks Hyde to review the terms the gentlemen sent by Mr. Allestree.<sup>1</sup> Hopes this caballing with 210 (Lord Manchester) will succeed but confesses he fears it. All things tend to his Majesty's restoration.]

This section of the letter is printed in *C.S.P.*, iii. 664. But the rest is not given; the text is as follows :—

Yet as to his happie and glorious establishment, if I erre not, some here are out of the way. The two earles,<sup>2</sup> the Lord St. John and Bellasis have accepted the trust. And though we gaine reputation by it, I have very little either of trouble or hazzard the lesse so that you must expect sleepy accounts and not quarrel me for flatnesse. The Lord Grandison<sup>3</sup> has your letter, but I have not seen him. Will. Rum. has got an intimacy with Popham and Col. Gibbs<sup>4</sup> so that I have dayly accounts from both and good ones. The humor of this people inclines them so to action that all the interest I have will scarce keep them from a rash attempt. I prepare you with this truth, fearing it may surprise you if past. We are upon a rationall undertaking and such a one as if it proceed I shall be able to give good reasons for, but of this you will have more light in the Kings. You would scarce believe me when I tould you the truth of Colonell Ingoldsby's interest but be now most certaine of it. And trust me when I tell you, he will lead more armed men than any men in England Monck excepted. I have a great deale more to say to you of particulars, but I must break off, and desire you to believe I am with great respect and inclination your lordships most humble and most faithfull servant, Mordaunt.

### 230. Lord Mordaunt and others to the King.

*London, 19 Jan. 1659–60.*—Sir, Upon the full prospect of your affaires we humbly conceive that the chief wheeles of this motion<sup>5</sup> being presbyterian, we ought so to comply with them as to perswade them if possible, that we approve of what

<sup>1</sup> *Dr. Richard Allestree* arrived at Brussels with letters from Dr. Barwick for the King on 16/26 Dec 1659 (Barwick, *Vita Johannis Barwick* (1721 edition), p. 381). He was also engaged in negotiations with Mr. Otway and Colonel Cloberry (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 499). Cloberry is possibly the 'gentleman' alluded to, and the terms are the basis suggested by the presbyterians for a settlement by means of Monck for the restoration of the King.

<sup>2</sup> By 20 Jan. 1659–60 the earls of Northampton, Chesterfield and Middlesex and Lords St. John and Bellasis were described by Sir John Grenville to Hyde as ready to serve the King, though still unwilling to meet Mordaunt (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 527).

<sup>3</sup> *George Villiers, 4th Viscount Grandison* (d. 1699); 3rd son of Sir Edward Villiers, president of Munster, succeeded his brother John, the 3rd viscount, in 1659. He was captain of a troop of horse in 1660. Died 1699. *The complete peerage*, vol. vi (1926), 76.

<sup>4</sup> In the original the name is deciphered as *Colonel Gilby*. *Colonel Anthony Gilby*, of Everton, Notts, was the brother of Sir Theophilus Gilby. He was lieutenant-colonel of Sir John Digby's regiment in Notts and one of those who signed the capitulation of Newark in 1646 (Wood, *Nottinghamshire in the civil war* (1937), p. 167); he took part in the second civil war, compounded in 1650 (*Cal. Committee for Compounding*, iv. 2632); was involved in the rising of 1655 and imprisoned in 1656 (Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 169); in Jan. 1659–60 he was in London in touch with Mordaunt and John Cooper (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 535, 555).

<sup>5</sup> Mordaunt was working with Sir Thomas Peyton, Sir John Grenville, Colonel William Legge and Colonel Gilby to win the presbyterians (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 535). The presbyterians were actively considering negotiating on terms with the King (Guizot, *Richard Cromwell*, ii. 327).

we doe but connive at, and in truth cannot resist. It now remains that we acquit ourselves of our duty's to your Majestie and better we cannot than by representing playnly the inconveniences may ensue by the presbyterian being modelled, and we dispersed and distracted. Sir, if we permit them to body, and stand irresolute and at gaze it will naturally follow they may give us what laws they please, though for verball assurances they stick not at to confirm us of the reallity of their intentions. But power often changes the soules of men, and we remember this vulgar saying : *Fistula dulce canit, Volucres dum decipit auceps*. The expedient and only visible means to ballance this growing power will carry hazzard in it, and no lesse than the risque of your sacred person. How to advise we know not, but that t'is your interest to venture, and the desire of those truly respect both your office and person, we are confirmed espetially by those letters come from the place where the scene lyes, and where they must be the best judges.

If your Majestie should be induced to hazzard, from any thing we say, we most humbly beg that Mr. Alestre<sup>1</sup> may be immediately dispatched that upon notice of it we may prepare accordingly. We fear t'will not be possible for your Majestie to carry any forces with you to the west by reason of the — [blank in MS.] of those vessells we suppose are prepared for you.<sup>2</sup> And if your Majestie should stay for others the occasion may be lost. Wee therefore most humbly conceive the speediest way for your Majestie to find your self with those faithfull subjects so impatiently desire your presence, will be by London ; if this suite with your Majesties resolutions we shall be ready to meet, or wait upon your Majestie at what place you please to command, where the person or persons that you please to appoynt shall attend. But Sir, in this as in all other things we most humbly refer our selves to your Majesties pleasure.

If those French forces are in readiness,<sup>3</sup> and your Majestie in the west, they will make so considerable a diversion as may change the whole designe of the presbiterians, since the people are to act what some ten men only designe, are not one of forty of that faith. In time Sir, if God protect your person, you will make better termes for your self and party every way being here, then where you are. If you get into armes your conditions may be very easie, if otherwise, you will best doe your own businesse. God assist your Majestie, in your choise, and make us as capable as we are willing to serve your Majestie as becomes the duty of, Sir, your Majesties most loyall, etc.<sup>4</sup>

#### The state of the navy.<sup>5</sup>

[Mordaunt believed the navy in poor condition.<sup>6</sup> Sixteen frigates kept out.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Allestree had been sent over to Brussels to the King (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 305). He was arrested at Dover on his return but managed to save the letters he was bringing with him (*ibid.*, p. 324).

<sup>2</sup> Spain could not spare ships from Flanders for Charles II ; she needed them for the war with Portugal (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 540).

<sup>3</sup> No French forces were forthcoming (D'Avenel, *Lettres de Cardinal Mazarin*, ix (1906), 495).

<sup>4</sup> The letter is unsigned.

<sup>5</sup> This is out of place here. It is a section of the letter of Lord Mordaunt to the King of 16 Jan. 1659-60 (*supra*, no. 209), and should have formed part of it. It is printed in *C.S.P.*, iii. 652.

<sup>6</sup> The pay of the navy was badly in arrears and the ships lacked food and stores (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, pp. 338, 516).

He is expecting Mr. Breames and will then venture to deal with Lawson.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ford<sup>2</sup> is engaged by Rumbold. Fourteen ships are at Rochester but not manned. Expenditure on the navy is in arrears.]

### 231. William Rumbold to Lady Mordaunt.

20 Jan. 1659-60.—Madam, I leave you to judge whether my rivall deale not severely with me, when he allows me not time to make those due acknowledgments that I owe unto you for your abundant favours towards me. And yet Madam that it may appear how perfect an obedience I have to your commands, I hope he will not deny but that I am as kind to him as is possible, which is all that I have now time to say saving that I wilbe to the last moment of my life, Madam, your most faithfull and obedient servant, Will: Rumball.

### 232. Sir Robert Moray to Lady Mordaunt.

Paris, 12/22 Jan. 1659-60.—Madam, Yours from Calais did not miscarrie but it seemes two of mine in answer of it have ; they were both addressd to Mr. Booth,<sup>3</sup> thinking if you were not there he could send them safe and suddainly to you. One of them had in it a cipher friend, I cannot write to him to any purpose till I know he hath it, or some expedient be found out, nor indeed doe I think I shall have any thing of weight to say till the Lord Jermin return from court : <sup>4</sup> But if things goe well in England, I am of the mind it will be very necessary it be known here as the only engin will make those here appeare suddainly and vigourously in the King's affaires.

I think your friend <sup>5</sup> knows this so well he neede not be put in mind of it. But you may perhaps help him to find out a way to get it safely done.

I have so much indulgency for you as to lay no task upon you, and so leave all your actings to have their entire merit, that is, to be voluntary ; but if you would have mine meritorious you must determine them, and then I may perhaps have title good enough to contend with some of those that are marked in the Roman kalendar. I need not be sent back to former letters to take measures of your kindness the very disguise your last of the 14 would put upon it, proclaimes it. If therefore you will take my advice, save your self the pains hereafter to wrap it up in misteryes ; for a lynx hath no sharper eyes then I, and the noblest way of expressing kindness is to do it as I do ingenuously and plainly, only not to vex you with much language, I give you leave to think I meane all you would have me when I say only, Madame, your humble servant, R. Moray.

What hath becom of your lords letter <sup>6</sup> I cannot imagin, but I never received

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, no. 206, on Mr. Breames's negotiations with Lawson.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Ford was a London merchant (*supra*, no. 206).

<sup>3</sup> Henry Booth was at Calais and was engaged in the forwarding of letters to royalists in England (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 324).

<sup>4</sup> Lord Jermyn did not return from his visit to the French court at Toulouse, to Charles II at Brussels till 25 Feb. (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 575).

<sup>5</sup> Lord Mordaunt.

<sup>6</sup> Possibly the letter of 19 Jan. 1659-60 of Lord Mordaunt to Sir Robert Moray (*supra*, no. 226).

one. I did not answer next post, and have written to him 12 and to you 17. I that never speak of business to the Queene<sup>1</sup> told her yesterday a word of that matter you speak of, and had for answer, that she will dispose of nothing till she be in England, and that it seems is all to be desired or expected: But methinks you should have said something to the earl of St. Albans<sup>2</sup> to whom I mean to speak about it, if I see not you before he comes hither. I continue still my old prayers for you untill I have cause to pay my vows.

233. — <sup>3</sup> [blank in MS.] to Lady Mordaunt.

London, 23 Jan. 1659-60.—Ma chere, Your last letter was so obliging that all acknowledgments I can make for it will but imperfectly express my value of the favour both to me and my young cosin,<sup>4</sup> who I am sure will not only give an exact obedience to your commands, but esteem it an honour to receive them. Indeed the relation your ladyship makes of him gives me infinite satisfaction, since I look upon it as a certainty, knowing you to be too sincere to tell me such a thing in the ordinary way of complement. Pray shew me if you can in what manner his master has lately exprest his affection to him. I was doubtfull his absence might have lessened it, but being your ladyship says the contrary, I will believe he may yet prove a good merchant, which would rejoice me to a great degree for I confess to you he is the person in the world for whom I have the greatest love, next to my friend with whom I am, and your mother whom I intend to see shortly at her own house. I have sent her your letter that she may see the character you give. Ma chere, I ask you a thousand pardons that mine is so strangely tedious, and do wish I had some news to serve as an apology for this trouble. All here are in great expectation what Moncks arrivall will produce, as yet every one speaks of him according to their severall inclinations. If the effects of mine did answer my desires, you would already be very considerably served by ma chere, your ladyships most affectionate humble servant.

234. Lady Mordaunt to Lord Mordaunt.

13/23 Jan. 1659-60.—My joy, Your last action of going into England was verie

<sup>1</sup> The Queen-mother Henrietta Maria.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Jermyn was not created earl of St. Albans till 27 April 1660 (G. E. C., *The complete peerage*, vii (1896), 4).

<sup>3</sup> This unsigned letter is probably from the sister-in-law of Lady Mordaunt. *Elizabeth Mordaunt*, daughter of John Mordaunt, 1st earl of Peterborough, and sister of John Lord Mordaunt. She married Thomas, son and heir of Edward Howard, 1st Lord Howard of Esrick. She is probably referring here to her brother-in-law William Howard.

<sup>4</sup> *William Howard, 3rd Lord Howard of Esrick* (1626?-94), 2nd son of Edward Howard, 1st Lord Howard of Esrick, was in 1653 a member of Cromwell's life-guard, an anabaptist and a republican. He procured an address of the Levellers to Charles II and visited the King at Bruges (Clarendon, *Hist.*, xv. 104-31); he was imprisoned in 1657 but released in 1658; Jan. 1659-60 he visited the King at Brussels and Hyde thought he might prove useful among the anabaptists (C.S.P., iii. 658). He corresponded with Hyde under the pseudonym 'Dick Collins' (C.S.P., iv. 592). M.P. for Winchelsea in 1660; 1678 he succeeded his brother as 3rd Lord Howard of Esrick. Died 1694. *D.N.B.*

generous.<sup>1</sup> God in his mercy bless you. I have taken all advantages imaginable as you will finde when I see you concerning your own business though I have asked nothing. But [*blank in MS.*] will not suffer me to talk of a deniall, but says tis preposterous to think that a person to whom the King must owe his crown if ever he gett it next under God should be denyed any thing. But if God bless you in England I will bring it to an issue. I have been but once at court, but then was used with great ceremony and kindness: the King took me apart and discoursed his whole business with me, and tould me he was assured of France,<sup>2</sup> and if his friends in England should advise his coming without staying for the assistance of Spayne which he found very slow, he would do it. He said all of kinde to you imaginable, and I tooke an occasion to recommend my gallant to him with all the kindness I could and he received it as well. I have done Mr. Beaumonts<sup>3</sup> business for him, and he hath written to Sir George Booth, tis to let Sir George know how kindly he is received on his accompt. Mr. Alin<sup>4</sup> will give it you, for it will be of advantage to you to gett it delivered. Pray faile not to write kindly and effectually to Lord Jermin and Sir Robert Moray through whose hands all business at the French court comes. The King tould me as much, and your silence I finde troubles them, this note will shew it you. I shewed not your letter to the King<sup>5</sup> because I would haue them believe the business desperate. But pray in your next take notice of the business of Dunkirk which you mention, and if the offer be reall tis very considerable. — [*blank in MS.*] desires you to send for him when you would have him to come, and that you would signify your desire to the King, which will he believes coming from you be of great advantage to him: he prays heartily for you. I will never forget Hartgill Baron but will do him all the service I can, and so I will to honest Mr. Jamot.<sup>6</sup> My service to my galant, I shall write most of this to you by the post, believing it will be sooner with you. Pray let no body but H. B. or yourself uncipher my letters to you. God in his great mercy bless you for he only can do it. I believe you will finde it necessary to have me come. This is the knight's<sup>7</sup> sentence. Your lord made me expect I should heare from him before I wrott to him, but have writt twice and have not yett heard. Be very kind to Mr. Alin and his fr:<sup>8</sup>

### 235. Lord Mordaunt to the Queen-mother Henrietta Maria.

London, 23 Jan. 1659–60.—Madam, That I haue so long defered the duty I now

<sup>1</sup> Mordaunt's return to England had been requested by Baron in his letter of 29 Dec. (*supra*, no. 203). Mordaunt was back in England by 13 Jan. 1659–60 (*supra*, no. 222).

<sup>2</sup> The correspondence of Cardinal Mazarin hardly supports this view.

<sup>3</sup> 'Mr. Beaumont' stands for the King (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 429).

<sup>4</sup> 'Allen' was a pseudonym used by Dr. Richard Allestree who left Brussels with letters for England on 13 Jan 1659–60 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 569; *Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 518).

<sup>5</sup> The letter of Mordaunt referred to is *supra*, no. 218, written from Calais on his way back to England, and containing a reference to a plan for bribing Lockhart to surrender Dunkirk.

<sup>6</sup> See *supra*, no. 60, for Monsieur Jammot.

<sup>7</sup> 'The knight' was probably a reference to Sir Robert Moray; see *supra*, no. 232.

<sup>8</sup> 'Mr. Alin's friend', was his companion Sir John Stephens, who was arrested at Dover (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659–60, p. 324, there called 'Stevenson'). Sir John Stephens was in Dunkirk in 1656 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 97) and engaged in 1657 in carrying letters for the King (*ibid.*, p. 345); after his arrest in Jan. 1659–60 at Dover, he was imprisoned at Lambeth (Clarendon, *Hist.*, xvi. 139, 140).

pay your Majestie, was because I was unwilling to send any thing I might be forced to contradict the incertainty of all transactions here being so great, that what one would almost sweare must of necessity happen commonly never succeeded. But least my silence may be misinterpreted though I dare not be positive in what I write I presume to give your Majestie my sence of the whole. I am clearly satisfied had the King remayned in France,<sup>1</sup> or run the risque of privately conveying himself hither, his crown had been on his head. And I may likewise affirme that had it pleased his Majestie to have permitted me to have come hither when I first came to Bruxells, his affaires might now have been as well as his heart could wish. Your Majestie will pardon my plainness and not look on this as vanity, being indeed Madam I have no other ayme or designe in the world but of serving the King effectually, and paying all the reverence and duty I owe him and your Majestie which Madam, when ever by your particular command I am putt to the test, I humbly assure your Majestie that you shall finde I will acquitt my self like a gentleman, and as will become one your Majestie may please to have a confidence of.

The part which by the King's command I am forced to act does of necessity create me many enemies out of envie and jelousie, but Madam expecting all that malice can do against me, I am in part instructed to be carefull knowing I tread upon thorns. I say this in vindication of my self, that none of those reports may take place with your Majestie in whose favour and good opinion I am sollicitous to remayne.

Wee are here neare a chrisis, and though the torrent of the peoples inclinations runs violently for his Majesties restoration, yet Monck is so dark a man, no perspective can looke through him, and it will be like the last sceane of some excellent play, which the most judicious cannot positively say how it will end, but let it fall out as unhappily as our enemies can desire if France assist seasonably, I dare say twill be impossible to keep the King any longer from his right. Few dayes will give us cleare light as to Monck, and then I shall be able to send particulars if the presumption I take be not offensive to your Majestie for whose person I have all the inclinations, reverence, and respect, suits with the condition of, Madam, your Majesties most humble, and most obedient subject and servant Mordaunt.

### 236. Lord Mordaunt to Sir Robert Moray.

23 Jan. 1659-60.—Sir, I finde some rubb in the conveyance of our letters els I should surely have heard from you, to rectifie it pray use this addresse. It will fall to you to decipher my letter to the Queene, in whose hands I desire I may only be, and that her Majestie will please not to name me as author of any thing. I present her Majestie. I will write no particulars this post, having given you a long, ill and undigested accompt of the way of Flanders for fear of miscarriage. I likewise wish some other sure addresse, and not by Mr. Church who is given to talke. Write me clearly the state of France in order to our affaires, for I shall depend on you for it, and trust me when I assure you I shall weigh with the gentleman do what he can, for I am now with my friends and so well here that I need not apprehend him. If

<sup>1</sup> Charles II arrived at Brussels with Lord Mordaunt on 16 Dec. 1659 (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 485).



the Queene please to be gracious to me, I doubt not but I may carry being secretary,<sup>1</sup> and then she will be sure of a servant, but least her appearing in it may prejudice me, I leave the way and time to you. I may without vanitie say I merit it as well as Sir H: B:<sup>2</sup> and that I am visibly more usefull. Farewell.<sup>3</sup>

My most humble service to the good Lord to whom I have writt.<sup>4</sup>

237. — [blank in MS.] to Lady Mordaunt.

*Undated.*—My deare friend,<sup>5</sup> I must desire your leave to call you so, and likewise to give me that title, which I think I have a just right to ; having as great an affection for you as is possible to have. Your chere and I received your kinde letters with great satisfaction to know of your well being, and of the welfare of our cosine who has the honour to be where you are. I hope he waites upon you often ; he will please his mother<sup>6</sup> and friends verie much in so doing and in following your advice, which you are pleased to promise you will give him, which is a high obligation, and will be I am sure much to his advantage. We are very proude to heare he is in his master's favour, and that you say he is so well, deserves that honor, which is an unspeakable comfort to his mother and friends. I beseech you be pleased to assure him of my most affectionate service. I heare you have another greate belly, I wish you joy of it, and that you may lay it here without any prejudice to you, and I hope you do not forgett you bestowd it upon me ; if you have forgotten I have not, for I will not loose my share of it, nor resigne the interest you gave me in it. My deare friend I wish you all happinesse, and the like to all your friends and mine with you. I beseech you take the paines to let me know of their welfare, as well as of my deare brother, and you will oblige her that has been long and alwayes will continue to be your most affectionate servant, H.

238. Colonel Nugent to Lady Mordaunt.

*Bergue, 16/26 Jan. 1659-60.*—Madam, This is only to render your ladyship harty thanks for your favours in vouchsafing to write to me. My nephew is not come hither as yett, and as soone as he does come, I shall not faile to give your ladyship an accompt of what he has done which I do finde has been by Mr. Armorers' directions.<sup>7</sup> The enclosed will let your ladyship know all is worthy your hearing here. I pray, Madam, belieue I am unfaindly your most obedient servant to command, Nugent.

<sup>1</sup> Lord Mordaunt had desired to be of the King's bedchamber if he were restored in Dec. 1659 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 278), but his ambitions were now rising to become secretary of state.

<sup>2</sup> 'Sir H. B.' is *Sir Henry Bennet*, who was appointed secretary of state in succession to Sir Edward Nicholas on 2 Oct. 1662. In June 1660 the King appointed to the other secretaryship of state Sir William Morice, Monck's kinsman (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1660-1, p. 75).

<sup>3</sup> The letter is unsigned.

<sup>4</sup> Lord Jermyn (*supra*, no. 227).

<sup>5</sup> This letter is probably written by Elizabeth Howard, like no. 233. The cousin referred to is her brother-in-law William Howard.

<sup>6</sup> Lady Howard of Esrick.

<sup>7</sup> Colonel Nugent was still engaged in plans for securing Dunkirk for the King. He was in touch still with General Schomberg, who on 27 Dec./6 Jan. 1659-60, informed the King that he had supplied Nugent with money in order to carry on the negotiations with the English garrison

## 239. Lord Mordaunt to Lady Mordaunt.

London, 26 Jan. 1659-60.—My dear cosine, I am jealous of 171<sup>1</sup> his friendship, and feare he may endeavour to obstruct my rising. 118<sup>2</sup> wounds me to him pointing at my returne though the effects of my care and interest is visible to all the world. Carry your self discreetly in this, and ask the secretary what letters take notice of my proceedings this last packet. I think I shall resolve to fence no more with him, and oblige him to declare himself my friend or enemy. His designe was by 267<sup>3</sup> to gaine upon my business and so leave me. For your coming<sup>4</sup> I dare not yet permitt it because there may be danger to your person here, but I have stopt Nell, on presumption I may walk barefaced before I can write to you againe, which if so, assure your self of being sent for, but what way were best to take will be an other question so many being taken at Dover upon Sir John Stephens<sup>5</sup> his being known there; amongst whom I feare, Mr. Alestre. But there is now little danger as to them, All runs headlong as to the Kings restoration and nothing can hinder it but Monke, whom I now againe hope well of, but which way you must come I am in paine, if by Flushing twill be the easiest, and you may stay with my lady Grimston<sup>6</sup> till you embarke, but give out you goe for the Hague, but assure yourself your remove will be known. I desire my business may be cleare before you leave the King, els I shall be served a court trick and made use of only to the advantage of others 134, 276. 13. III.<sup>7</sup>

Some are of opinion you will be offered a treaty, 118 is suspected here for holding intelligence with St. John,<sup>8</sup> let the King know it. I should wonder if the King trust him, after he sent me word<sup>9</sup> from Fontarbia he would employ him no more.

## 240. Lord Mordaunt to the King.

[London, 26 Jan. 1659-60.—Found<sup>10</sup> on his arrival that the King's friends

of Dunkirk, set on foot by Mordaunt (Carte, *Ormonde papers*, ii. 273-4). Nugent's nephew is unidentified.

<sup>1</sup> 171 possibly refers to Hyde. The cipher used by Lord Mordaunt in his letters to his wife, differs from those he used to the King and to Hyde. But from the letter of Lady Mordaunt to her husband of 23 Feb./4 March 1659-60 (B.M. Addit. MSS. 32499), it appears that Mordaunt had resented criticism and had shown himself jealous and suspicious. From internal evidence, the allusion appears to be to Hyde's letter to Mordaunt of 10/20 Feb. 1659-60 (*C.S.P.*, iii. 683-6).

<sup>2</sup> '118' is probably Brodrick, who criticises Mordaunt in his letters of 13 and 20 Jan. 1659-60 to Hyde (*C.S.P.*, iii. 644, 655).

<sup>3</sup> '267' probably refers to William Rumbold, whose cipher Brodrick borrowed (*C.S.P.*, iii. 669).

<sup>4</sup> Lady Mordaunt returned to England with Hartgill Baron c. 7/17 March 1659-60 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, 385). 'Nell' is probably a servant.

<sup>5</sup> See *supra*, no. 234, n. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Lady Grimston, wife of Sir Harbottle Grimston (1603-85), speaker of the Convention parliament. He married (1) Mary, daughter of Sir George Croke, (2) Anne, daughter of Sir Nathaniel Bacon, and relict of Sir Thomas Meautys. *D.N.B.*

<sup>7</sup> Undeciphered.

<sup>8</sup> The letters of Brodrick to Hyde of 13 and 27 Jan. 1659-60 (*C.S.P.*, iii. 661) suggest that he was in touch with St. John.

<sup>9</sup> There is no such instruction in the extant letters of the King to Mordaunt from Fuentarabia, but it is possible that it was given verbally.

<sup>10</sup> Clarendon MSS., vol. lxix, fos. 7-8; *C.S.P.*, iii. 659-60.

lacked courage and enterprise. Relates his negotiations with the city through Aldermen Robinson and Langham. Has procured a considerable sum as a testimonial of their intentions. To further his object of inflaming the counties to demand a change of government, he sent them arguments derived from Mr. Pierce<sup>1</sup> (Prynne) and Mr. Anslow<sup>2</sup> (Annesley). Had hoped to induce them to declare for a free parliament, but had to consent to the inserting a clause for the secluded members. He was overborne by Colonel Cooke<sup>3</sup> and Mr. Crew.<sup>4</sup> Hopes he has taken off the earl of Manchester by the bait of having his pretensions granted.<sup>5</sup> If the earl of Southampton would reside here a little, the whole would stand fair. The previous day's debate was whether they should dissolve or admit the secluded members. Begins now to have better hopes of Monck.]

The letter so far is printed in *C.S.P.*, iii. 659–60, but the following postscript in the Mordaunt MS. is omitted and a different one given:—

The Count Salar [Salazar] and Oniati desired me to finde some way to offer Lockhart two hundred thousand crowns, merchants securitie to be paid at Midlborrow or Antwerp upon the rendition of Dunkirk either to your Majestie or the King of Spaine.<sup>6</sup> If your Majestie likes the proposal, I humbly conceive Major-general Middleton<sup>7</sup> the fittest person for the negotiation, knowing Lockhart's esteeme for him. I spoke to the lieutenant-generall about it and he will be commanded as your Majestie shall please.

#### 241. Lord Mordaunt to the Queen-mother Henrietta Maria.

London, 26 Jan. 1659–60.—Madam, If any of mine have had the honour to be

<sup>1</sup> 'Mr. Pierce' in the Mordaunt MS., 'Mr. Prinn' in the Clarendon MS. Prynne published on 4 Jan. 1659–60 his tract *Seven additional Quaeres in behalf of the secluded members*, and on 13 Jan. *The case of the old secured, secluded and now excluded members stated* (Catalogue of the Thomason Tracts (1668), ii. 275, 277).

<sup>2</sup> Arthur Annesley, 2nd Viscount Valentia, 1st earl of Anglesey (1614–86), parliamentarian; eldest son of Sir Francis Annesley, 1st Viscount Valentia and Lord Mountnorris; 1645 one of three parliamentarian commissioners sent to Ireland; 1658 M.P. for Dublin; 1659 he tried unsuccessfully to gain admission to the Rump; 23 Feb. 1659–60 member of the council of state; 1660 M.P. for Carmarthen; Nov. 1660 Viscount Valentia; 20 April 1661 created earl of Anglesey; 1672–82 lord privy seal. Died 1686. *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> Colonel Edward Cooke, parliamentarian, younger son of Sir Robert Cooke of Highnam, Gloucs., served under Sir William Waller; Colonel Massey (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, i. 130, n. 2); 1659 M.P. for Tewkesbury; influential with the presbyterians and the secluded members (*Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 159, 526); he was in touch with Monck in Jan. 1659–60 (*ibid.*, iv. 533) but by March 1660 was professing devotion to the King (*ibid.*, iv. 585).

<sup>4</sup> John Crew, 1st Baron Crew of Stene (1598–1679), parliamentarian; eldest son of Sir Thomas Crew; 1625 M.P. for Amersham; 1626 for Brackley; 1628 for Banbury; April 1640 for Northants; Nov. 1640 for Brackley; one of the parliamentarian commissioners at Uxbridge and in the negotiations with the King in 1646 and 1648; Dec. 1648 one of the secluded members; 1654 M.P. for Northants; 1657 summoned to the Other House but did not sit; 23 Feb. 1659–60 one of the council of state; 20 April 1661 created Baron Crew of Stene. Died 1679. *D.N.B.*

<sup>5</sup> The earl of Manchester was appointed lord chamberlain by Charles II at the Restoration (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 284). It was the position of lord treasurer which he sought (*infra*, no. 242).

<sup>6</sup> See *supra*, no. 218.

<sup>7</sup> Major-general John Middleton was also sometimes styled Lieutenant-general.

presented you, your Majestie has found where in my opinion the obstruction lye. And truly though no subject living can reverence the Kings person more then I, I confess I respect his honor and his office more. And yet I have not read of three kingdoms lost and recovered without some hazzard. Your glorious father<sup>1</sup> had never been King of France by demonstration, and if we expect our happiness that way, I feare we may turn gray before the day, and leave the hope of that blest sight to our successors.

Your Majestie finds by my plainness I am but a young politician, but my defects in knowledge I hope my integritie will make up, and that the presumption of these accounts will be pardonable: I have Madam to add that if France will assist and the King venture, he may be restored without termes, but perhaps I shall not be able to say so ten days hence. Having discharged my duty it will remaine only that I be obedient to what commands your Majestie shall please to honor me with, being, Madam, your Majesties most humble and obedient subject and servant, Mordaunt.

#### 242. Lord Mordaunt to Sir Robert Moray.

26 Jan. 1659-60.—I am almost discouraged from writing to you never hearing since I left Brussels whether there be such a man alive. I am now where I would be and as I would be and pray believe I will take right measures. 123. 254. 30. 221. 111.<sup>2</sup> I have writt to the King about my Lord Manchester, who puts in for treasurer.<sup>3</sup> But all this while you may think this is dividing the skin before the beast be kild. Belieue the contrary, the King we must have againe but upon what conditions I cannot tell, and yet I say this without any assurance of Monck, and from the universall voice of the people, which must encline Monck though against his sence to admitt the secluded members or declare for a free parliament. T'was my particular care to have him mett all the way by persons of the best quality with declarations to that effect. He quarters this night<sup>4</sup> at Harborough, and if he be wise will advance no further than Northampton that observing the motion of the greater army, if against him, he may fall into the west, or back northwards. Now how far Haselrig has wrought upon the army here is in the darke, but take this for truth, Lambert, Lawson, he and Vane are one.<sup>5</sup>

By the next expect some further explanation, and allow me your advice. Sir, I am your humble servant, Mordaunt.

#### 243. Lord Mordaunt to Sir Edward Hyde.

London, 26 Jan. 1659-60.—Things<sup>6</sup> were so in the darke when last weeks

<sup>1</sup> Henry IV of France.

<sup>2</sup> Undeciphered.

<sup>3</sup> The earl of Southampton was made lord treasurer at the restoration (Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 617).

<sup>4</sup> Monck quartered at Market Harborough 23 Jan. 1659-60 (*The Clarke papers*, iv (1901) 259).

<sup>5</sup> Mordaunt does not allow here for the breach between Sir Arthur Hesilrige and Sir Henry Vane. After Vane's discharge from the house of commons on 9 Jan. 1659-60 (*C.J.*, vii. 806), Hesilrige had no intercourse with him (*The Clarke papers*, iv (1901), 261). On 9 Jan. Major-general Lambert with eight other officers was required to leave London (*C.J.*, vii. 806).

<sup>6</sup> Clarendon MSS., vol. lxi, fo. 6. The letter is not in Mordaunt's hand except for a few lines - at the end. The hand has been ascribed to Hartgill Baron (*Cal. S.C.P.*, iv. 532, n. 1). The letter

accounts were written, that few but those of the intrigue could send you other than what you received, but now the clouds disperse, and we begin to have a prospect so pleasing, that the most sober and flegmatique may reasonably fancy your master in his throne, and yet I write not this out of any assurance of Moncke though now as to him too I believe well. But 'tis the voice of the people is in this the voice of God. By this time you are freed of the apprehension of my miscariage, and in this place I returne you humble thanks for your obliging concerne. Indeed should I have then <sup>1</sup> fallen into myn enemies hands the King would have lost some considerable advantages it has pleased God by my means to add to his interest, the particulars you will finde in his Majesties letter to which I referr you, and yet I cannot say as you please to do, that 'tis half a miracle. But I can assure you both the spirits and resolutions of men are fully as I could wish, and I do think it verie reasonable to expect suddaine and excellent effects from the true and good understandings I have created between the severall parties, and the heads of those partys, and this I may modestly hope speaks my interest here not so inconsiderable, as some (as I am told) render it to your lordship.

What my interest is, the effects shew, and truly 'tis an ill spirit detracts from those that pursue virtue. The poore gentelman Mr. Alestre is taken I feare at Dover with seaven more all seizd on after Sir John Stephens was secured. This much afflicts me.

For Will: Howard, if you are all of one opinion, and have reason for it, I am heartily glad, but believe his interest will not appear much, and how he comes to know what we do is no wonder, we having so few discreet or secret persons amongst us. Mr. Wright <sup>2</sup> has not yet shewed me yours to him, and for the reiteration of your care concerning my person, I am still resolved to expose it on the terms I doe, that is to say whilst I can serve the King and that by his grace and good pleasure, and pray my lord believe, I feare not my life, satisfied in conscience and honor,<sup>3</sup> I hope ere this fortnight to finde these friends here will own and protect me; I looke on the work as almost done, and when it is quite, your lordship will finde upon what pretences I served his Majestie, and that there was so little of self in it, that my duty done, I shall as quickly forgett, as be forgotten to have done anything worth a reward. I endeavour if possible to add to those Christian resolutions my wife has, and though she has a soule great enough, I conceale the great risques I lately scaped. They have again proscribed me, but I shall cancell <sup>4</sup> the proscription. Lambert <sup>5</sup> begins to appeare againe and for some days we may stand at gaze.<sup>6</sup> I am, my lord, your most humble servant, Mordaunt.

is in largely deciphered cipher, and endorsed by Hyde. It is a reply to Hyde's letter of 13/23 Jan. (*C.S.P.*, iii. 658).

<sup>1</sup> Mordaunt is alluding to his escape in arriving safely in England without arrest at the port.

<sup>2</sup> 'Mr. Wright' is William Rumbold.

<sup>3</sup> In the Clarendon MS. after the word 'honor' the text runs—'Did Curtius pit open itselfe to me, I would leap in to serve my king and country, and yet to this I wilbe as prudent as I can.'

<sup>4</sup> In the Clarendon MS. 'conceale'.

<sup>5</sup> Lambert, who had not obeyed the order of parliament to retire from London, was on 26 Jan. 1659-60 ordered to live at Holmby House, Northants (*C.J.*, vii. 823).

<sup>6</sup> The Clarendon MS. has the following postscript. 'I was afraid I should heare nothing of my good friends 213 (Massey), 986 (and) 372 (Titus), 370. 99, having been 765 (wrongly

## 244. Lord Mordaunt to Sir Edward Nicholas.

26 Jan. 1659-60.—Sir, Pray give me the liberty to tell you I am struck <sup>1</sup> at both at Brussels and here, yet I am verie secure when truths come to be scand, if my services prove not my ruine. But if 'tis necessary to crop me in the budd, I can yield most willingly to my fate, and since I looke on the King as restored, I care not who has the fruits of his restoration. If this plainesse be too much, suppress it ; if not use your discretion. Pray oblige me to tell Mr. Nicholas <sup>2</sup> I am so much his servant that I must sit down without hope of a revenge. God bless us all to meet well. I have only to add this, that I wish the King safe from Brussels towards his own cuntry. Your most humble servant, Mordaunt.

## 245. Hartgill Baron to Lady Mordaunt.

*Undated.*—My lord desires you to say nothing to the King concerning those graunts untill Mr. Jamott comes to you, he will be dispatched hence, <sup>3</sup> Monday next for Bruxells on business of concerne. I have taken order for fifty pounds to be returned you this weeke which I hope will come to you. I am for ever, Madam, your most faithfull servant, H. Baron.

## 246. Edward Carrent to Lady Mordaunt.

*London, 27 Jan. 1659-60.*—Much honoured, In obedience to your commands this attends you to let you understand all your friends and relations of all sorts and sizes, enjoy health, draw Christian aire, and are not destitute of as much content as this turbulent, vaine, tumbling English world can afford. Never were poore people confounded with such variety as we of this nation. Monck's hood is now off and he totally for Westminster sages.<sup>4</sup> Declarations are common as from Gloucestershire Berks Suffolk Norfolk Lincoln Cornwall Devon and I heare Essex. The London commissioners <sup>5</sup> sent to Monck are said and believe to be imprisoned. Sir Robert

deciphered as "fatall", instead of "here") without any account, and that I now receave troubles me, the last being the night before he intended to try the kindnesse of the sea and winds, which has obstructed his journey and lost us the use of his advice. My humble service to my 583, 597, 500 (Lord Ormonde).'

<sup>1</sup> On 27 Jan. 1659-60 Mordaunt wrote another letter, possibly to Sir Edward Nicholas, complaining of being misrepresented both in England and to the King by Brodrick, Scott, Palden and Cooper (*C.S.P.*, iii. 661-2).

<sup>2</sup> *John Nicholas* (b 1623), eldest son of Sir Edward Nicholas; clerk of the council (*The Nicholas papers*, iv (1920), 54 n.a). *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> The letter was probably written about 27 Jan. as another letter of that date, of which a copy is in Lady Mordaunt's hand (Clarendon MSS., vol. lxix, fos. 24-5), also states that Monsieur Jammot will be sent to the King the following Monday.

<sup>4</sup> The Rump.

<sup>5</sup> The commissioners sent by the city of London to Monck were Alderman Fowke, Alderman Vincent and Mr. Bromfield. They met Monck on 23 Jan. 1659-60 at Market Harborough (Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 595).

Pye<sup>1</sup> and Fincher<sup>2</sup> that brought the Berkshire declaration are in the Tower. God knows what will follow. I had wrot more at large but wanted the convenience at present wherefore afford your pardon to your humble servant, E. C.

#### 247. Hartgill Baron to Lady Mordaunt.

*London, 27 Jan. 1659-60.*—Good Madam, I received yours by the last post. For the letters you desired from our friends they will be all sent by this post, according to your commands, pray desire our old friend from whom ye have this, to read mine to my master, in which I have servd Mr. Donnell<sup>3</sup> what I can, and not a thousand times so much as he deserves. For what you sent by my brother I hope may remaine in his hands. I shall use all means it may, and shall neglect nothing els to serve both him and you most sincerely. If I can but do it so effectually as I desire, I wish no other blessing in this world, for be assured Madam, I study nothing more in the world than that, and your good opinion, which if I may deserve and remaine in it, all misfortunes I detest. In great hast I am, Madam, most sincerely, your most faithfull servant forever, H. B.

#### 248. Sir Robert Moray to Lady Mordaunt.

*Paris, 18/28 Jan. 1659-60.*—How it comes to pass is not easy to say, but I find that not only your friend but you, are got in amongst the very first rank of those that share in my vowes. This is mote than you pretend in your last of 23, though you were so just as to expect it for your friend, he was much in the right to be unwilling to stay so long. I was of the minde he should have gone from hence. All I have yet seene in the prints or letters does not disquiet me. I do not say it for your encouragement. But the season, the unripeness of designes, and ignorance of things on this side the seas, to say no more, make it to me rationall to seem slack and remisse, I was of this minde before I heard by last post from Holland, and Monck, as people landed lately from Scotland relate, hath dismissed the commissioners of shires that were with him at Barwick with orders to provide themselves speedily with able officers, horses and armes.<sup>4</sup>

So I am gott, as far as your postscript you see, with temper enough, but if that conjure up a storme upon you, it is but just. Who told you pray, that I needed your

<sup>1</sup> *Sir Robert Pye* (d. 1701), parliamentarian; son of Sir Robert Pye, remembrancer of the exchequer; married Anne daughter of John Hampden; fought in the first civil war under the earl of Essex and as a colonel of horse in the New Model army (Firth, *Regimental history*, i. 127); he was arrested by the army in 1647 but released by Fairfax; 1654 and 1658 M.P. for Berks; 25 Jan. with Major Fincher was sent to the Tower for presenting a petition from Berkshire for the readmission of the secluded members (*ibid.*, i. 141). He was released on 21 Feb. (C.J., vii. 847); M.P. for Berks in 1660. Died 1701. *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> *Major Richard Fincher*, parliamentarian, was quartermaster-general of horse under Fairfax (Firth, *Regimental history*, i. 50).

<sup>3</sup> 'Mr. Donnell' is a pseudonym for Lord Mordaunt (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 318).

<sup>4</sup> Sir Robert Moray is mistaken. The proposal to permit the Scots to arm had been discussed by Monck with his council at Berwick, but decided in the negative (*The Clarke papers*, iv (1901), xxi. 194-5; Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 590-1.)

justice, or value your kindness, or why do you think them worth my taking paines to deserve them? First let me tell you, you are once more mistaken. Tis my kindness is to be courted if any be. Some degree of it may fall to your share on other accompts, but nothing can bring you to the hight of it but my inclination or your virtue, and if ever you come there, this last must be the way, and then I will never say as you do, any thing that may look like an opinion, you can fall from it, for those that once attaine it can never lose it. For believe it none that can lose it can ever attaine it. So there will never be roome for imagining I will be unjust to you, only when you faile instead of being just, I will be compassionate, if not indulgent, so if you do but come the right way, you may believe to finde me just as you would have me.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The letter is unsigned.



# APPENDIX

## SIR RICHARD WILLIS

SIR RICHARD WILLIS, elder brother of Colonel William Willis of Fen Ditton, Cambs,<sup>1</sup> served in the French and Dutch armies before the civil war.<sup>2</sup> He was a royalist and in 1644 governor of Newark,<sup>3</sup> but in October 1645 was deprived of that office by the King.<sup>4</sup> He retired to Oxford and was one of the royal commissioners at its surrender in June 1646.<sup>5</sup> He then went to Italy, but returned to England in 1652.<sup>6</sup> He was imprisoned for royalism in 1654 and again in 1655-56, but was released on high security.<sup>7</sup> He was a member of the Sealed Knot<sup>8</sup> and corresponded with Hyde under the pseudonym of 'Thomas Brockwell'.<sup>9</sup>

At the end of 1656 or early in 1657 he was examined by Thurloe and established some relation with him,<sup>10</sup> but he refused to reveal to him the address of Ormonde during the visit of the latter to England in 1658.<sup>11</sup> In May 1658, Willis was named<sup>12</sup> for trial at the high court of justice but was released without trial by August. He was fully trusted by the King and was named as one of the 'Trust' erected 1/11 March 1659.<sup>13</sup> He was very poor and Hyde authorised<sup>14</sup> the payment of £100 to him by Brodrick, who was his friend. In May 1659, Thurloe in the presence of Samuel Morland interviewed Willis and, according to the latter's account,<sup>15</sup> both Thurloe and Morland desired his aid to make their peace with the king. Evidently Willis failed to satisfy them, and in June Morland denounced him<sup>16</sup> to the King as a traitor. The King and Hyde asked for further evidence. They believed Willis was innocent, as did Mordaunt,<sup>17</sup> to whom the King communicated his fears during the latter's visit to the court at the end of June. On 3 July 1659, Willis was placarded<sup>18</sup> in London as a traitor; but Mordaunt was not yet convinced of his guilt, though he had ground for displeasure with him, as, at the final meeting of the Trust before the rising, Willis had condemned<sup>19</sup> it as 'totally presbyterian' and opposed it.

Meanwhile the King and Hyde on the evidence of several letters signed 'Thomas Barret' addressed to Thurloe, which Morland had sent over, decided that the handwriting was that of Willis and that his guilt was evident.<sup>20</sup> They gave instructions that he should no longer be trusted. The failure of the rising supported this view and Mordaunt believed<sup>21</sup> that Willis had betrayed it. The guilt of Willis was not accepted by the Sealed Knot,<sup>22</sup> but Hyde had no doubt of it. In his letter<sup>23</sup> to Mordaunt of 22 October/1 November 1659, he insisted that the evidence against Willis was indis-

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Committee for Compounding*, ii. 1564.

<sup>2</sup> Firth, *Last Years of the Protectorate*, i. 31; Echard, *History of England* (1707), ii. 806.

<sup>3</sup> Clarendon, *Hist.*, ix. 129-30.

<sup>4</sup> Rushworth, *Historical collections*, vi. 279.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Echard, *op. cit.*, p. 806.

<sup>7</sup> *Notes and Queries*, ser. 12, x. 123. Notes of the examination of Willis at Breda, May, 1660, transcribed by J. G. Muddiman from *S.P. Dom.*, Charles II, xlvi, no. 195.

<sup>8</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1655, p. 212.

<sup>9</sup> *Cal. C.S.P.*, iii. 144.

<sup>10</sup> *Notes and Queries*, *op. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* and Carte, *Ormonde*, iii. 661-2, 666-7.

<sup>12</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1658-59, p. 16.

<sup>13</sup> *Supra*, no. 7.

<sup>14</sup> *Supra*, no. 19.

<sup>15</sup> *Notes and Queries*, *op. cit.*

<sup>16</sup> *Cal. C.S.P.*, iv. 223.

<sup>17</sup> Clarendon, *Hist.*, xvi. 32.

<sup>18</sup> *The Nicholas papers*, iv. 169.

<sup>19</sup> *Supra*, no. 55.

<sup>20</sup> Clarendon, *Hist.*, xvi. 30.

<sup>21</sup> *Supra*, no. 79.

<sup>22</sup> *Supra*, no. 92.

<sup>23</sup> *Supra*, no. 117.

putable and he thought that Thurloe owed his safety during the summer to the services he had rendered the parliament through Willis.

Sir Charles Firth accepted the verdict of the King and believed Willis a traitor.<sup>1</sup> Miss M. Hollings in her article on 'Thomas Barret' in the *English Historical Review*,<sup>2</sup> reopened the question and thought it possible that the defence put up by Willis in May 1660—that the letters used against him were forged<sup>3</sup> might be the true explanation. As Miss Hollings realised, there is no certainty that we have before us the letters on which Hyde and the King convicted Willis. The remaining 'Barret' letters are eight in number, whereas Clarendon says<sup>4</sup> 'a great number' of letters of Willis were sent over to the King.

The Mordaunt letter book does not supply any definite solution to the problem. It does show, however, that Willis<sup>5</sup> at the eleventh hour opposed the rising as 'totally presbyterian'. This would be in keeping with Hyde's account<sup>6</sup> that Willis in the Barret letters only revealed the designs of the presbyterians, not those of the older cavalier party, to which he belonged. If Willis objected to the presbyterian-royalist coalition, sponsored by Mordaunt, he might have both denounced the presbyterians to Thurloe, and tried to prevent the rising in which they had to take a leading part.

The Mordaunt letter-book shows the reluctance of the Sealed Knot to accept the guilt of Willis, but it throws no light on the efforts of Willis in the autumn of 1659 to win over Thurloe to the King, or on the formal enquiry in May 1660 which resulted in his final conviction. The date of Willis's death is unknown.

<sup>1</sup> Firth, *Last years of the Protectorate*, i. 31.

<sup>2</sup> *E.H.R.*, vol. clxix, 1928, pp. 33-65.

<sup>3</sup> *Notes and Queries*, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Clarendon, *Hist.*, xvi. 30.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra*, no. 55.

<sup>6</sup> Clarendon, *Hist.*, xvi. 31.

# INDEX

(The numbers refer to the letter, not the page.)

- Abbeville, France, 145, 159, 186, 225.  
 Albert, the archduke, 218n.  
 'Alin, Mr.', *pseudon.*, 234.  
 Allestree, Dr. Richard, 25, 214n, 229, 230, 234n, 239, 243.  
 Allestree, Robert, 25n  
 Alleyne, Thomas, lord mayor of London, 216n.  
 Alsop, colonel Roger, 65n, 165, 218n.  
 Amersham, Bucks, 240n.  
 Amiens, France, 61n, 62, 73n, 145, 162, 175.  
 Anabaptists, the, 18, 23n, 41, 77, 112, 120n, 127, 128, 233n.  
 Andover, Hants, 11n.  
 Annesley, Arthur, later earl of Anglesey, 240.  
 Antwerp, Spanish Netherlands, 71, 84, 103, 172, 196n, 218, 240.  
 Appleby, Westmorland, 224n.  
 Armorer, major Nicholas, 11n, 16, 35, 60, 65, 71n, 78, 97, 107, 116, 123, 139, 141, 146, 148, 158, 208, 238.  
 Armorer, Thomas, 16n.  
 Army, the, Desborough's influence with, 11; uncertain if it will seize power, 16, 26, 27, 35; officers cashiered from, 41; discontent in, 66; relations of Lambert and Fleetwood with, 77; breach with parliament likely, 88, 93, 100; account of the breach, 104, 107; Monck declared against, 108; Lambert sent against Monck with, 112, 114, 115; antagonism in London to, 127, 142; decline of Lambert's army and increasing power of Monck's 156, 166, 189, 209; opposes rising to restore parliament, 197, 200, 203; royalist plans to win over, 216, 227; Monck's advance on London with, 242, 248.  
 Army of Charles II in Flanders, 11n, 34, 62n.  
 Arundel, Sussex, 56.  
 Arundel, Henry Howard, 2nd earl of, 93n.  
 Arundel, Henry Frederick Howard, 3rd earl of, 97n.  
 Arundell, Sir John of Trerice, 38n.  
 Arundell, colonel Richard, later 1st baron Arundell of Trerice, 38, 55.  
 Ashburton, Devon, 36n.  
 Ashfield, lieut.-colonel Richard, 88, 224n.  
 Ashford, Kent, 197.  
 Austria, don John of, 75n.  
 Aubigny, George Stuart, 9th seigneur d', 78n.  
 Avalon, Som, 4n, 41n.  
 Aylesbury, Bucks, 31n, 83n.  
 Babington, major Thomas, 56.  
 Bacon, Sir Nathaniel, 239n.  
 Balcarres, Alexander Lindsay, 1st earl of, 179n.  
 Banbury, Oxon, 7n, 93n, 240n.  
 Baptists, the, 156n.  
 Barber, James, 160n.  
 Barber, captain Robert, 160, 165, 175n, 186, 208.  
 Baron, Hartgill, 2n, 9, 11, 16, 19, 20, 22, 25, 32, 36, 37, 38, 39, 55, 60, 63n, 65, 67, 68n, 73n, 74n, 75n, 77, 81, 84, 85n, 86n, 89, 90, 92, 98n, 100n, 103, 110, 113, 118n, 123, 124, 126, 133, 137, 197n, 200, 203, 213n, 222n, 228, 234, 239n, 243n, 245, 247.  
 Baron, John, 39, 55, 191n, 193.  
 Barrow, lieut.-colonel Robert, 88, 224n.  
 Barwick, Dr. John, later dean of Durham, 17n, 22n, 25n, 88, 91n, 93n, 102, 156, 197n, 212, 223n, 229n.  
 Bath, Som, 16n.  
 Baxter, Rev. Richard, 31n.  
 Bayonne, France, 15n, 117, 123, 158.  
 Beauchamp, Edward Seymour, lord, 18n.  
 'Beaumont, mons.', *pseudon.*, 142, 164, 234.  
 Bedford, Francis Russell, 4th earl of, 7n, 127n.  
 Bedford, William Russell, 5th earl, later 1st duke of, 127, 223, 224.  
 Bedfordshire, 24n, 77n, 81n, 88n.  
 Belasyse, Henry, 16n.  
 Belasyse, John lord, 7n, 9n, 16, 35, 47n, 50n, 119, 154, 155, 229.  
 Bennet, Sir Henry, later 1st earl of Arlington, 103n, 123, 133, 141, 236.  
 Bennett, Sir John, 123n.  
 Bennets, mons., 94.  
 Bergue, Flanders, 65n, 112n, 151, 160, 161, 172, 210, 238.  
 Berkeley, John, 1st baron Berkeley of Stratton, 124, 175.

- Berkeley, Sir Maurice, 124n.  
 Berkshire, 88n, 93n, 187, 246.  
 Berkshire, Thomas Howard, 1st earl of, 30n, 62n, 111n.  
 Berry, major-general James, 77, 88, 190, 224n.  
 Berwick-on-Tweed, Northumb., 108n, 113, 114, 115, 168n, 209n, 248.  
 Bethel, colonel Hugh, 209.  
 Beverley, scout master-general, 98.  
 Beverley, Mr., 24.  
 Beverley, James, sen., 24n.  
 Beverley, James, jun., 24n.  
 Beverley, Robert, 24n.  
 Beverley, Thomas, 24n.  
 Biddenden, Kent, 108n.  
 Blake, admiral Robert, 12n, 23n.  
 Blois, France, 179n.  
 Bohemia, Elizabeth, queen of, 16n, 58, 59, 185n, 196n, 219.  
 Bolton, major Francis, 92, 192n.  
 Booth, Sir George, sen., 18n.  
 Booth, Sir George, 18, 22, 29, 31, 36, 45, 46, 47, 49, 62n, 64n, 66, 76, 77, 81, 84, 88n, 92n, 93, 98, 108, 111n, 144n, 152n, 154n, 168n, 189, 195, 200n, 209, 234.  
 Booth, Henry, 15, 123, 141, 165, 214, 232.  
 Booth, colonel John, 46.  
 Booth, colonel Nathaniel, 46, 49.  
 Bordeaux, France, 60, 89, 123, 142n, 158.  
 Bordeaux, Antoine de, French ambassador to England, 106n, 107n, 127n, 142n, 145n, 146n, 164, 175n, 201.  
 Boscawen, Hugh, sen., 36n.  
 Boscawen, Hugh, 36.  
 Boston, Lincs, 61.  
 Boulogne, France, 61, 65, 81n, 94, 110n, 145n.  
 Boulter, Mr., 192.  
 Boyne, battle of the, 112n.  
 Boys, Edward, 31n.  
 Boys, Sir John, 31, 36, 37, 197n.  
 Brackley, Northants, 240n.  
 Braganza, Catherine of, 97n.  
 Breames, Sir Arnold, 120, 197n, 206, 230.  
 Breames, Charles, 120n.  
 Breda, United Provinces, 58, 59, 63, 68, 75, 84, 142, 148, 172.  
 Bristol, Gloucs, 16, 20, 22, 23, 24, 32, 34, 36n, 37, 38, 54, 55, 88, 99, 189, 218n, 227.  
 Bristol, George lord Digby, 2nd earl of, 76n.  
 Brittany, France, 65n, 69, 74.  
 Brocklehurst, major, 88n.  
 Brodrick, Alan, 19, 24, 25, 26n, 35, 37, 44n, 48, 54, 61, 153n, 223n, 239n, 244n.  
 Brodrick, St. John, 19n.  
 Bromfield, alderman, 246n.  
 Brooke, major Peter, 98.  
 'Brown, Mr.', *pseudon.*, 19.  
 Browne, major-general Richard, 7n, 16, 19, 24, 42, 55, 93, 200n, 201, 223, 227.  
 Bruce, Robert lord, later 2nd earl of Elgin and 1st earl of Ailesbury, 23, 47n, 52, 55, 93, 98, 102.  
 Bruce, Thomas lord, 1st earl of Elgin, 23n.  
 Bruges, Spanish Netherlands, 19n, 218n, 233n.  
 Brunswick-Lüneburg, Prince Ernest Augustus of, 59n, 185n.  
 Brussels: commission to Mordaunt and others issued by Charles II from, 7; Sir Edward Hyde and Sir Edward Nicholas to remain at, 34; King prepared to leave for the rising in England, 40, 54; duke of York and duke of Gloucester at, 59; King left for the rising, 61; duke of York at, after failure of the rising, 61; return of Captain Titus and Hartgill Baron to, 65, 75n; colonel Whitley at, 66n, 148; Spanish ministers in, 138; return of Charles II and Lord Mordaunt to, 187n, 235n; William Howard visited King at, 233n; Lady Mordaunt at, 234, 235.  
 Buckingham, George Villiers, 2nd duke of, 18, 19, 55, 66.  
 Buckingham, Mary Fairfax, duchess of, 18n.  
 Buckinghamshire, 36, 56n, 77n, 88n, 137n.  
 Byron, Sir John, 36n.  
 Byron, Sir John, 1st lord, 36n.  
 Byron, Richard, 2nd lord, 36, 93.  
 Cadiz, Spain, 23n.  
 Calais, France: transmission of royalist letters through, 15n, 19, 106, 114n, 116, 117, 158, 175, 181, 214; King to start for rising in England from, 47, 55; escape of Lord Mordaunt to, 59n, 63, 76; Lady Mordaunt at, 79, 80, 124; return of Lord Mordaunt to England from, 99n, 101; Hartgill Baron at, 133n, 191; Nicholas Armorer at, 65n, 107, 123; Charles Lyttleton at, 110n, 146n; Colonel Nugent at, 139; General Schomberg at, 162, 163; Colonel Whitley at, 66n; return of Lord Mordaunt to, 151n, 152, 172.  
 Cambridge, 19n, 47n, 88n.  
 Cambridgeshire, 11n, 77n.  
 Caracena, Juan de Fromesta, marquis of, 75, 84, 86, 103, 187n, 218n.  
 Carey, Lady Elizabeth, 144.  
 Carey, Lady Mary, 135, 173.  
 Carey, Philadelphia, 123n, 125n.  
 Carey, the hon. Thomas, 3n, 123n, 125n, 144n.  
 Carlisle, Cumb, 113, 114, 115, 168n.  
 Carmarthen, Wales, 240n.

- Carrent, Edward, 190, 194, 202, 207, 246.  
 Carrent, William, 190n.  
 Castle Rising, Norfolk, 148n.  
 Castleton, George Saunderson, 5th viscount, 36.  
 Catholics, 11n, 19, 20n, 35, 53, 93, 96, 191, 201, 213, 223.  
 Cawton, Rev. Thomas, 75n.  
 Charles I: attorney-general of, 124n; removal from Holmby House by the army, 18n; Treaty of Newport with, 114n, 148; trial of, 31n, 56n, 61n, 77n; burial of, 24n, 127n.  
 Charles II: confers viscounty on John Mordaunt, 4; grants plenepotentiary to Mordaunt and others, 7, 8; plans for rising of 1659 sent to, 23, 24, 31, 36, 38, 41, 42, 54; negotiates with Presbyterians and Parliamentarians, 7, 8, 16, 18, 20, 27, 36, 56, 119, 127, 130, 148, 222, 229, 230, 239, 240; prepares to cross to England for the rising, 40, 50, 54; journey to Fuentarabia, 60, 61, 68, 69, 74, 76, 84, 89, 103, 123, 126; at Fuentarabia, 130, 150; necessity for his landing in England after his return from Spain, 100, 113, 200, 201, 226, 227, 235; at Colombe, France, 167, 169, 170, 171, 180, 184, 195; returns to Brussels, 184, 191, 193; relations with France, 23, 24, 27, 32, 38, 61, 72, 74, 78, 89, 95, 103, 112, 114, 116, 131, 138, 142, 146, 150, 155, 156, 178, 189, 198, 201n, 220, 227, 230, 234, 241; relations with Spain, 21, 23, 24, 27, 32, 34, 61, 63, 72, 74, 78, 86, 89, 95, 103, 116, 123, 126, 138, 150, 156, 234, 241; convinced of the treachery of Sir Richard Willis, 61, 66, 117, 137, 224, app.; overtures to Monck, 38, 88, 102, 119, 127, 138, 154, 155, 156, 209, 213, 227, 235; negotiations with London, 215, 216, 217; letters to, 11, 12, 29, 31, 33, 38, 41, 42, 44, 47, 65, 66, 71, 78, 80, 88, 93, 98, 102, 106, 107, 108, 114, 119, 121, 122, 127, 128, 149, 154, 156, 209, 218, 222, 230, 240; letters or commissions from, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 34, 40, 56, 120, 130, 167, 169, 174, 180, 195, 199, 205, 215, 216, 217, 220.  
 Charles X, king of Sweden, 187.  
 Charlton, Job, 7, 20, 24, 29.  
 Charlton, Robert, 7n.  
 Cheshire, 16n, 18n, 22n, 36, 96, 98n.  
 Chester, 22, 46n, 98.  
 Chester Castle, 98, 189.  
 Chesterfield, Philip Stanhope, 1st earl of, 31n.  
 Chesterfield, Philip Stanhope, 2nd earl of, 31, 36, 97, 119, 217, 224, 229n.  
 Chichester, Sussex, 56.  
 Chirke Castle, Wales, 77, 98n.  
 Church, Percy, 60, 78, 86, 100, 103, 114, 117, 139, 158, 181, 191, 236.  
 Clancarty, Donogh MacCarthy, 1st earl of, 89.  
 Clare, Sir Francis, 31n.  
 Clare, John Holles, 1st earl of, 127n.  
 Clare, John Holles, 2nd earl of, 127.  
 Clare, Sir Ralph, 31.  
 'Clark, Mr.', *pseudon.*, 49.  
 Clement X, pope, 97n.  
 Cloberry, colonel John, 156, 229n.  
 Cobbett, lieut.-colonel Ralph, 88, 108, 109, 224n.  
 Cochrane, colonel Sir Bryce, 88.  
 Colchester, Essex, 31n, 218.  
 'Collins, Dick', *pseudon.*, 233n.  
 Cologne, 10n, 11n, 19n.  
 Colombe, France, 158, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 179, 184, 195.  
 Commonwealth men, 42.  
 Compton, Sir Charles, 93.  
 Compton, Sir William, 7n, 9n, 16, 19, 31, 35, 36, 37, 41, 54, 55, 61, 66, 93, 224n.  
 Condé, Louis de Bourbon, prince of, 84.  
 Cooke, colonel Edward, 240.  
 Cooke, Sir Robert, 240n.  
 Cooke, captain Thomas, 70.  
 Cooper, Anthony Ashley, later 1st earl of Shaftesbury, 32, 36, 209, 224.  
 Cooper, John of Rockbourne, Hants, 32n.  
 Cooper, John, 27, 93, 97, 202.  
 Cooper, Sir Roger, 27n.  
 Coote, Sir Charles, 207n.  
 Copenhagen, 187.  
 Corfe Castle, Dorset, 22n.  
 Corney, Mr., 94.  
 Cornwall, 7n, 31, 36, 38n, 88n, 93, 169n, 246.  
 Council of state, the, 11n, 12n, 16n, 19n, 22n, 24, 31n, 32n, 36n, 38n, 39, 55n, 77, 83n, 88, 93n, 142n, 209, 213n, 216, 224n, 226, 240n.  
 Coventry, Warwicks, 22.  
 Craven, Sir William, 58n.  
 Craven, William, 1st earl of, 58.  
 Crawford, John Lindsay, 17th earl of, 227.  
 Creed, John, 88n.  
 Creed, major Richard, 88, 203, 224n.  
 Crew, John, later 1st baron Crew of Stene, 240.  
 Crew, Sir Thomas, 240n.  
 Croke, Sir George, 239n.  
 Cromwell, Henry, lord deputy of Ireland, 18, 23, 28, 33, 35, 47, 88n, 127.  
 Cromwell, colonel Henry, 88.

- Cromwell, Oliver, Lord protector, 11n, 16n, 18n, 20, 31n, 35, 77n, 88n, 93n, 127n, 137n, 164n, 212, 233n.  
 Cromwell, Sir Oliver, 88.  
 Cromwell, Richard, Lord protector, 11, 16, 18, 22, 23, 39, 56, 77n, 96, 127n.  
 Cronenburgh Castle, 19.  
 Croxton, colonel Robert, 98.  
 Culpeper, Sir Thomas, 200.  
 Cumberland, 18n
- Dawson, John, 36.  
 Delvin, Christopher Nugent, lord, 92n  
 Denbigh ' ' 2nd earl of, 22  
 Denbigh, William Feilding, 1st earl of, 22n.  
 Denbighshire, Wales, 98n.  
 Derby, Charles Stanley, 8th earl of, 98.  
 Derby, James Stanley, 7th earl of, 98n.  
 Derbyshire, 36n.  
 Derby petition, the, 77n, 88n, 104n.  
 Derry, Ireland, 108n.  
 Desborough, James, 11n.  
 Desborough, major-general John, 11, 18, 19, 77n, 88, 190n, 200n, 202, 209n, 224.  
 Desmond, Richard, Preston, earl of, 140n.  
 Desmond, William, earl of, 140n.  
 Devon, 12n, 31, 36, 88n, 93, 156n, 218n, 222n, 246  
 Devonshire, Christina, countess of, 29, 54.  
 Devonshire, William Cavendish, 2nd earl of, 29n.  
 Digby, Sir John, 229n.  
 Dixmude, Flanders, 65, 112n.  
 'Donnell, Mr.', *pseudon.*, 247.  
 Donnington Castle, Berks, 31n.  
 'Dorothy, Mrs.', *pseudon.*, 188, 192.  
 Dover Castle, 11n, 31n, 88n, 110.  
 Dover, Kent, 88n, 96, 106, 166, 230n, 234n, 239, 243  
 Dover, Henry Carey, 4th lord Hunsdon and 1st earl of, 173n.  
 Downe, Sir Thomas Pope, 2nd earl of, 31.  
 Downe, Sir William Pope, 1st earl of, 31n.  
 Downs, the, 23n, 197, 201, 218.  
 Downton, Wilts, 32n, 209n.  
 Drayton, Northants, 81n.  
 Dublin, Ireland, 17, 207, 240n.  
 Duckenfield, lieutenant-colonel John, 104.  
 Dundee, 88n.  
 Dunes, battle of the, 22n, 112n, 165n.  
 Dunkirk, Flanders, 12n, 15n, 19, 21, 38, 62n, 65, 73, 75, 81, 92, 93, 112n, 113, 117, 123n, 129n, 134n, 139n, 142n, 146, 160n, 162n, 165n, 189n, 191, 192n, 206, 210, 218, 234, 238n, 240.  
 Duppá, Dr. Brian, 55.
- Duppá, Jeffrey, 55n.  
 Durham, 77, 88n.
- Edinburgh, Scotland, 113n, 165, 209n.  
 Effingham, William lord Howard of, 123n  
 Eger, Sir Anthony, 31.  
 Elgin, Thomas lord Bruce, 1st earl of, 23n.  
 Ellison, major, 209  
 Elsmore, captain George, 56  
 Ely, Cambs, 19n, 189  
 England, *see* Charles I, Charles II, Cromwell, and Parliament.  
 'Erbery, Mr.', *pseudon.*, 188, 192.  
 Essex, 19n, 31n, 36n, 77n, 246.  
 Essex, Robert Devereux, third earl of, 81n, 246n.  
 Eton College, 88n.  
 Evelyn, colonel Arthur, 88, 166.  
 Evelyn, John, 71n, 93n, 209n, 223n.  
 Evesham, Worcs, 31n.  
 Exeter, Devon, 36n, 37n, 88, 93, 189, 227.
- Fairfax, Brian, 203n.  
 Fairfax, Ferdinand, 2nd lord, 19n  
 Fairfax, Thomas, 3rd lord, 18n, 19, 203n, 207, 209, 218, 246n  
 Falkland, Lucius Carey, 2nd viscount, 36n.  
 Falkland, Henry Carey, 4th viscount, 31, 36n.  
 Fanshawe, Sir Henry, 36n.  
 Fanshawe, Sir Thomas, 36.  
 Fanshawe, Sir Richard, 36, 178, 198.  
 Fauconberg, Thomas, 1st lord, 7n, 16n.  
 Fauconberg, Thomas Belasyse, 1st viscount, 16, 47n, 50, 154n.  
 Feake, Christopher, 156.  
 Fenwick, George, sen., 209n.  
 Fenwick, colonel George, 209.  
 Ferdinand III, emperor, 58n.  
 Fifth-monarchists, the, 29n, 36n, 77n, 156n.  
 Finch, Francis, 86, 91, 93, 148.  
 Fincher, major Richard, 246.  
 Fitch, colonel Thomas, 77, 88, 93, 96, 190.  
 Flanders, 11n, 21, 23n, 34, 62n, 72, 77, 88, 89, 92n, 110, 114, 123n, 124n, 131, 148, 155n, 182, 184, 193, 209n, 220, 230n, 236.  
 Fleet, the, 12n, 23, 35, 38, 66, 105, 120n, 134, 206, 208, 224n, 230.  
 Fleetwood, colonel Charles, 18, 29n, 77, 86n, 88, 91n, 93, 100, 103, 105, 107, 111, 114, 127, 148, 175, 200, 201n, 206, 209, 218, 224.  
 Fleetwood, Sir Miles, 77n.  
 Fleetwood, lieutenant-colonel William, 218n.  
 Flushing, 239.  
 Ford, Richard, 206, 230.  
 Fowke, alderman, 246n.

France, 12n, 19, 22n, 23, 24, 27, 32, 38, 54, 58n, 61, 72, 74, 78, 88n, 95, 108, 112, 114, 128, 146n, 148, 155, 156, 164n, 178, 184, 189, 198, 201n, 206, 220, 226, 227, 234, 235, 236, 241.  
 Frankfort, 58  
 Frederick V of Bohemia and of the Palatinate, 58n, 196n  
 Freshville, John, 36.  
 Fuentarabia, Spain, 10n, 12n, 18n, 59n, 76, 89, 103n, 117, 123, 126, 130, 131, 133, 139, 141, 142n, 150  
  
 Gatehouse, the, London, 190.  
 Geering, William, 142n  
 Gerard, Sir Charles, 108n.  
 Gerard, Sir Gilbert, 55.  
 Gerard, Charles, 1st baron, later earl of Macclesfield, 108, 123, 139n.  
 Ghent, Mary Knatchbull, abbess at, 191n.  
 Giavarina, Francesco, Venetian agent in London, 127n.  
 Gilbey, colonel Anthony, 229, 230n.  
 Gilbey, Sir Theophilus, 229n.  
 Glamorgan, 200n.  
 Gloucester, 16, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 32, 34, 36, 38, 54, 55, 88, 91n, 93, 189.  
 Gloucester, Henry, duke of, 50, 61, 72, 89, 108, 116, 117n, 126, 142n.  
 Gloucestershire, 16n, 63n, 86n, 246.  
 Grandison, George Villiers, 4th viscount of, 229.  
 Granger, Thomas, 55.  
 Great Wenlock, Notts, 127n.  
 Greenwich, Kent, 200.  
 Grenville, Sir Beville, 7n.  
 Grenville, Sir John, later 1st earl of Bath, 7, 12n, 14, 31, 36, 38, 42, 88n, 119, 154, 155, 157, 164n, 217, 222n, 229n, 230.  
 Griffith, John, 156.  
 Grimsby, Lincs, 31n.  
 Grimston, Anne Meautys, 2nd lady, 239.  
 Grimston, Sir Harbottle, 239n.  
 Grimston, Mary Croke, 1st lady, 239n.  
 Guernsey, isle of, 7n.  
  
 Hacker, Francis, sen., 114n.  
 Hacker, colonel Francis, 114.  
 Haddington, Thomas Hamilton, 1st earl of, 11n.  
 Hague, the, Holland, 19n, 58, 59, 185n, 219, 239.  
 Hamilton, James Hamilton, 3rd marquis, afterwards duke of, 227n.  
 Hamilton, Sir James, 11, 14, 16.  
 Hampden, John, 246n.  
 Hampshire, 18n, 32, 56, 187.  
 'Hancock, Mr.', *pseudon.*, 19n.

Harley, Sir Robert, 18n.  
 Harley or Harlow, major Robert, 18, 20, 22, 127.  
 Haro, Don Luis de, minister of Philip IV of Spain, 34, 61, 63, 68, 73n, 89, 103, 123, 126, 150, 218n  
 Harrington, James, 77, 93, 96.  
 Harrison, major-general Thomas, 18, 29, 35.  
 Hartlebury Castle, Worcs, 31n.  
 Heath, Jeremy, 218n.  
 Heath, John, 166, 170, 171, 197, 206, 214n.  
 Heath, Chief justice Sir Robert, 166n.  
 Heidelberg, Germany, 112n  
 Henchman, Dr. Humphrey, 19, 22, 36.  
 Henchman, Thomas, 19n.  
 Henrietta Maria, queen of Charles I, 15n, 22n, 60n, 61n, 72, 74n, 89, 123, 124, 158, 162, 171, 226, 232, 235, 236, 241.  
 Henrietta, princess, daughter of Charles I, 89, 226  
 Henry IV of France, 241.  
 Herbert, Attorney-general Sir Edward, 123n, 178n.  
 Herbert, Margaret Carey, lady, 123, 178n, 198n, 219.  
 Hereford, 36n, 88n.  
 Herefordshire, 16n, 18n, 31, 77n.  
 Hertford, 36n.  
 Hertford, William Seymour, 2nd earl of, 18, 22, 24, 127, 217  
 Hertfordshire, 16n, 31n, 36n  
 Hesilrige, Sir Arthur, 61, 77, 83, 88, 93, 100, 103, 108n, 166n, 190, 200, 201, 209, 242.  
 Hesilrige, Sir Thomas, 61n.  
 Hesse-Cassel, Charlotte of, 58n.  
 Hesse-Cassel, the landgrave of, 58n.  
 Heytesbury, 124n  
 Hickman, Dixie, 31n.  
 Hindon, Wilts, 88n.  
 Hispaniola, island of, 22n.  
 Holder, Thomas, 76.  
 Holland, 31n, 38, 67, 84, 88n, 187, 219, 248.  
 Holland, Sir John, 148.  
 Holland, colonel Richard, 98, 100, 108, 148n.  
 Holmby House, Northants, 18n, 243n.  
 Hopton, Richard, 16.  
 Hopton, Sir Richard, 16n  
 Howard, Sir Charles, later 1st earl of Carlisle, 18, 36, 168, 189n.  
 Howard of Esrick, Edward, 1st lord, 233n.  
 Howard of Esrick, Elizabeth Mordaunt, lady, 123n, 233n, 237n.  
 Howard of Esrick, Thomas, 2nd lord, 123n.  
 Howard of Esrick, Thomas, 233n.  
 Howard of Esrick, William, 3rd lord, 233, 237n, 243.  
 Howard, Henry, later 6th duke of Norfolk, 93.

Howard, Philip, later cardinal of Norfolk, 97.  
 Howard, Sir Robert, 30.  
 Howard, lieut.-colonel Thomas, later 3rd earl of Berkshire, 62, 111, 124.  
 Howard, Sir William of Naworth, 19n.  
 Howe, John, 16n.  
 Howe, John, Grubham, 16, 18, 19, 20, 31, 36, 119, 155.  
 Hull, Yorks, 31n, 36n, 77n, 93, 108n, 109, 148, 166, 200, 226n.  
 Huntingdonshire, 16, 77n, 83n.  
 Huntingdon, Henry Hastings, 5th earl of, 7n.  
 Huntington, major Robert, 200, 203.  
 Hyde, Sir Edward, later 1st earl of Clarendon: from Brussels, advises Mordaunt as to plans for the rising of 1659, 16, 19, 20, 22, 54; informed by Mordaunt on plans for the rising, 18, 20, 26, 36; his views on possibility of aid from France and Spain, 19, 21, 24, 27, 32, 35, 61, 63, 103, 116, 198; anxiety during King's journey to Spain, 63, 68, 74, 103; wishes Mordaunt to go to the King after the failure of the rising, 78, 85, 91; informed by Mordaunt on position in England in the autumn of 1659, 82, 83, 86, 95, 96; his caution, 103, 117, 148, 191; incurs hostility of the Sealed Knot and of other royalists, 96, 178, 184, 198; his efforts to reconcile Brodrick and Mordaunt, 48; believes in the treachery of Willis, 117, 187; Letters to, 18, 23, 26, 36n, 51n, 79, 82, 86, 92, 95, 96, 100, 104, 178, 229, 243; letters from, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 27, 32, 35, 54, 61, 63, 68, 74, 85, 91, 103, 116, 117, 136, 137, 147, 148, 172, 181, 183, 191, 198, 211.  
 Independents, the, 77.  
 Ingoldsby, colonel Henry, 127, 203n.  
 Ingoldsby, colonel Richard, 56, 66n, 88n, 127n, 130, 209, 223, 227, 229.  
 Ingoldsby, Sir Richard, 56n.  
 Inverness, Scotland, 77n.  
 Ireland, 10n, 17n, 18n, 28, 31n, 77n, 88n, 92n, 140n, 207, 209, 224n, 240n.  
 Ireland, colonel Gilbert, 98.  
 Isabella, the Infanta, 218n.  
 'Jackson, Thomas,' *pseudon.*, 11n.  
 Jammot, major, 60, 198, 234, 245.  
 'Jeffreys, Mr.,' *pseudon.*, 88.  
 'Jennings, John,' *pseudon.*, 16n, 75.  
 Jermyn, Henry, 1st earl of St. Albans, 22, 65, 69, 89, 158, 170n, 171, 204, 226, 227, 232, 234, 236n.  
 Jermyn, Sir Thomas, 22n.

Jersey, isle of, 77n.  
 Johnson, captain, 113n.  
 'Jones, John,' *pseudon.*, for Hartgill Baron, 2n, 63, 68, 73, 75, 81, 84, 85, 86, 100, 118n, 170, 172, 197.  
 Jones, Henry, 22.  
 Jones, colonel Theophilus, 207n.  
 Joyce, cornet George, 18.  
 Juan, Don, of Austria, 75n.  
 Kelsey, major-general Thomas, 88, 224n.  
 Kent, 7n, 23, 24n, 27, 31, 36, 38, 54, 55, 57n, 61, 66n, 88n, 119n, 148, 166, 190, 197, 200, 206, 218.  
 Kilkhampton, Cornwall, 88n.  
 King's College, Cambridge, 47n.  
 Kingston, Robert Pierrepont, 1st earl of, 127n.  
 Kinloss, Edward Bruce, 1st lord of, 29n.  
 Knot, the Sealed, 7n, 9n, 12, 19n, 29, 39, 42, 51, 55, 75, 92, 124, 155, 178, 184, 198, 224, 228.  
 Lambert, major-general John: his power with the army, 14, 18, 42, 77, 88, 105, 142, 218; his defeat of Sir George Booth, 18n, 98; Hyde's opinion of, 61, 74, 85, 103, 116, 137, 172; Mordaunt's opinion of, 93, 100, 103, 104, 105, 107; 108, 109, 189, 226, 227, 242n; his relations with Catholics, 96, 213, 223, 224; his relations with Sir Henry Vane, 36, 77, 93, 103, 114, 242; project to marry his daughter to the duke of York, 80, 84, 150; his relations with the Rump, 83, 104, 105, 107, 111, 214, 224, 242n; his march to Scotland against Monck, 112, 113, 114, 115, 142, 148, 154, 156, 190, 202, 203, 206; his return from Scotland and decline of power, 190, 202, 207, 209, 224, 226, 242n, 243.  
 Lambert, Josias, 18n.  
 Lambeth Palace, 108, 234n.  
 Lanark, Scotland, 12n.  
 Lancashire, 96, 98n, 148.  
 Lancaster, Lancs, 36n.  
 Langham, alderman John, 223, 240.  
 La Rochelle, France, 103.  
 Laud, William, archbishop of Canterbury, 223n.  
 Lawson, vice-admiral Sir John, 23, 47n, 120, 197, 200, 201, 203, 206, 209, 218, 223, 230, 242.  
 Legge, Edward, sometime president of Munster, 7n.  
 Legge, colonel William, 7, 22, 24, 29, 31, 37, 55, 203, 222n, 230n.



- Leicester, 61n.  
 Leicestershire, 61n, 114n  
 Lenthall, William, speaker, 77n, 88, 100n,  
     107, 114n, 200n, 202n.  
 Leopold I, emperor, 58.  
 Levellers, the, 233n.  
 Lewes, Sussex, 56.  
 Lewisham, Kent, 55n.  
 Leyden, United Provinces, 59.  
 Lichfield, Charles Stuart, 1st earl of, 78.  
 Lilburne, colonel Robert, 203n, 218n.  
 Lillingston, colonel Henry, 65n, 165n.  
 Limerick, Ireland, 127.  
 Lincolnshire, 7n, 31n, 36, 113, 119n, 209n, 246.  
 Lindsay, Montague Bertie, 2nd earl of, 127.  
 Lindsay, Robert, 9th lord of the Byres, 227n.  
 Lindsay, Robert Bertie, 1st earl of, 127n.  
 Lingen, Edward, 31n.  
 Lingen, Sir Henry, 31.  
 Liverpool, Lancs, 98n.  
 Lockhart, Sir James, 12n.  
 Lockhart, Sir William, 12, 18, 22, 59n, 65n,  
     76, 89, 114, 117, 142, 146, 148, 156,  
     206, 218, 234n, 240.  
 London: Presbyterian element in, 11, 16n;  
     royalists banished from, 20; army in,  
     77, 84, 88, 93, 103, 189, 202, 224, 227;  
     publication of Willis as a traitor in, 55;  
     city militia of, 88, 127, 156, 187, 201, 202,  
     203, 206, 216; common council of, 127,  
     155, 166, 187, 190, 194, 201, 206; refusal  
     of citizens to pay taxes, 156, 175; desire  
     for a free parliament in, 166, 200, 201,  
     203, 206; political confusion in, 166,  
     200; Mordaunt's negotiations with  
     aldermen of, 223, 240; King's commis-  
     sion for raising army in, 214, 215, 216,  
     217; secretaries in, 93, 209, 224.  
 Lostwithiel, Cornwall, 38n.  
 Loughborough, Henry Hastings, 1st lord of,  
     7n, 9n.  
 Louis XIV, of France, 15n, 146n, 189, 201n.  
 Louise, princess of the Palatinate, 196.  
 Ludlow, Salop, 7n.  
 Ludlow, colonel Edmund, 47n, 88, 96.  
 Ludlow, Sir Henry, 88n.  
 Lunsford, Sir Herbert, 62, 64, 70, 87, 94, 105,  
     111, 113, 124, 129n, 134, 145, 159, 160n,  
     186, 221, 225.  
 Lynn, Norfolk, 12, 16n, 22, 24, 27, 31n, 38,  
     53n, 61, 172, 189.  
 Lyttleton, Sir Charles, 31, 36, 61, 78, 93,  
     104, 110, 113, 116, 125, 126, 138, 146,  
     148, 158, 179, 219.  
 \*Lyttleton, Sir Henry, 123n, 125n.  
 Lyttleton, Philadelphia Carey, lady, 123n,  
     125n.  
 Lyttleton, Sir Thomas, 31n, 219n.  
 Lyttleton, William, 219.  
 MacCarthy, Cormac Oge, 89  
 Madrid, Spain, 11n, 36n, 69, 89, 99, 123, 218n.  
 Maestricht, Spanish Netherlands, 179n.  
 Maidstone, Kent, 197.  
 'Man, Thomas', *pseudon.*, 214n.  
 Manchester, Sir Henry Montagu, 1st earl of,  
     16n.  
 Manchester, Edward Montagu, 2nd earl of,  
     7n, 16, 19, 31, 36, 102, 127, 223n, 229,  
     240, 242.  
 Manning, Henry, 11n.  
 Marcés, monsieur de, 171n  
 Mardyke, Flanders, 142.  
 Maria Marguerite, later wife of the Emperor  
     Leopold I, 226n.  
 Maria Theresa, the infanta, wife of Louis  
     XIV, 15n  
 Marigny, Abbé Jacques Carpentier de, 58.  
 Market Harborough, Leics, 242, 246n.  
 Markham, colonel Henry, 213.  
 Marlow, Bucks, 137n.  
 Marston Moor, Yorks, 218n  
 Massey, major-general Edward, 13n, 16,  
     19, 20, 32, 42, 63, 91, 93n, 101, 137,  
     214, 227, 240n, 243n.  
 Massey, John, 16n.  
 Maubisson, abbey of, France, 196n.  
 Maynard, William, lord of Estaines, 31, 36.  
 Mazarin, Cardinal, 22n, 34, 73n, 89n, 103,  
     107n, 111n, 131, 142n, 145n, 150n, 155n,  
     158n, 177n, 182n, 189, 198, 201n, 227n,  
     234n.  
 Meautys, Sir Thomas, 239n.  
 Melcombe Regis, Dorset, 98n.  
 Meredith, captain Miles, 134, 145, 159.  
 Middleburgh, Holland, 218, 240.  
 Middlesex, 31n, 55n, 123n.  
 Middlesex, James Cranfield, 2nd earl of, 119n.  
 Middlesex, Lionel Cranfield, 1st earl of, 119n.  
 Middlesex, Lionel Cranfield, 3rd earl of, 119,  
     229n  
 Middleton, major-general John, 240.  
 Middleton, Sir Thomas, sen., 98n.  
 Middleton, Sir Thomas, 98, 108, 223n.  
 Middlewich, Lancs, 98n.  
 Miller, George, 197.  
 Militia, the, 39, 88, 98n, 107, 127, 128, 156,  
     187, 201, 202, 203, 206, 216.  
 Minehead, Som, 16n, 127n  
 Mompesson, colonel Thomas, 214.  
 Monck, George, later duke of Albemarle:  
     supported Richard Cromwell, 18;  
     warned Cromwell against Willis, 35;  
     warned Thurloe against Willis, 19;

Monck, George : (*continued*)

supported the parliament against Lambert and the army, 96, 108, 109, 112, 142, 148, 166, 203, 206, 207, 242; his administration in Scotland, 156, 165, 189, 248; his advance into England, 113, 164, 207, 209, his relations with London, 155, 197, 201; his relations with Presbyterian peers, 127; royalist overtures to and opinion of, 88, 102, 119, 154, 155, 156, 213, 217, 222, 227, 235, 239, 242, 243, 246; the restoration with Sir John Grenville, 71.

Monck, Rev. Nicholas, 88, 119.

Monck, Sir Thomas, 121, 881.

Monmouth, Henry Carey, 2nd earl of, 1401, 143.

Monmouth, Robert Carey, 1st earl of, 31, 1231.

Montagu, Edward, 15, 1891.

Montagu, Edward, 2nd baron of Boughton, 151.

Montagu, Sir Sidney, 121.

Montague, Edward, admiral, later 1st earl of Sandwich, 12, 151, 18, 231, 38, 1891.

Montague, the Abbé Walter, 1551, 1581.

Moore, Sir Henry, sen, 931.

Moore, Sir Henry, 93.

Moray, Sir Mungo, 1791.

Moray, Sir Robert, 179, 204, 226, 232, 234, 236, 242, 248.

Mordaunt, Charles, later 3rd earl of Peterborough, 1431, 2011.

Mordaunt, Elizabeth Carey, lady : parentage, 31, 1231; character, *Intro.*, pp. x, xi, xix; respect of Charles II for, 3, 132, 199, 234; affection of Lord Mordaunt for, 86, 171, 179, 223; devotion to the royal cause, 111, 80, 243; her arrest ordered in Aug. 1659, 1441; her escape to France, 591, 79, 86; her assistance in royalist designs, 71, 110, 111, 113, 124, 131, 141, 142, 146, 158, 162, 164, 175, 210, 234; her friendship with Elizabeth of Bohemia and the princesses of the Palatinate, 58, 59, 185, 196, 219; later life of, *Intro.*, p. xxi; letters to, 3, 58, 59, 60, 90, 111, 113, 118, 123, 132, 134, 135, 136, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 158, 160, 162, 164, 165, 170, 171, 173, 179, 183, 184, 185, 190, 192, 193, 194, 196, 199, 202, 207, 213, 219, 223, 228, 231, 232, 233, 237, 238, 239, 245, 246, 247, 248; letters from, 80, 110, 124, 157, 234.

Mordaunt, Henry, 111, 143, 201, 223.

Mordaunt, John, 1st earl of Peterborough, *Intro.*, p. x, 81, 1231.

Mordaunt, John Viscount : parentage and family of, *Intro.*, pp. ix, x, created a viscount, 3, 4, 28; appointed one of the plenipotentiary, 7; plans for the rising of 1659, 11, 12, 18, 20, 23, 26, 29, 31, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 47, 51, 55, 56; escape to France after the failure of the rising, 611, 68, 73, 76; his relations with the Sealed Knot, 121, 29, 37, 39, 42, 51, 55, 92, 224; foretells breach between the army and the parliament, 71, 77, 83, 92, 93; his return to England, Oct. 1659, 95, 104; his relations with General Schomberg and the Marquis de Renne to secure Dunkirk, 71, 77, 95, 112, 113, 114, 124, 162, 170, 171; his negotiations with Presbyterians and parliamentarians, Oct. 1659 to Jan. 1660, 93, 96, 113, 114, 127, 148, 152, 156, 168, 209, 218, 223, 226, 227, 229, 230, 240, 242; negotiates with London aldermen, 223, 240; his strained relations with Brodrick, 26, 37, 48, 54, 153; his view of Sir Richard Willis, 55, 79, 92, 224; suspicious nature, *Intro.*, pp. xviii, xix; 81, 113, 117, 119, 151, 153, 181, 223, 229, 235, 239, 244; his relations with Massey, 16, 18, 20, 101; later career after 1660 and estimate of his historical importance, *Intro.*, pp. xx, xxi, xxii; letters to, 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 27, 30, 32, 34, 35, 43, 45, 46, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 61, 62, 64, 67, 68, 69, 70, 73, 74, 75, 76, 84, 85, 87, 89, 91, 94, 103, 116, 117, 125, 126, 130, 131, 133, 137, 138, 148, 150, 151, 155, 159, 161, 163, 166, 172, 181, 182, 186, 187, 191, 198, 200, 201, 203, 204, 205, 206, 208, 210, 212, 214, 221, 225, 234; letters from, 11, 12, 18, 23, 26, 28, 29, 31, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 44, 47, 48, 51, 55, 65, 66, 71, 72, 77, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 86, 92, 93, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 112, 113, 114, 115, 121, 127, 128, 129, 149, 152, 153, 168, 176, 177, 178, 179, 189, 209, 213, 218, 222, 223, 224, 226, 227, 229, 230, 235, 236, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244.

Morgan, Robert, 2091.

Morgan, colonel Thomas, 209.

Morice, William, later secretary of state, 2361.

Morland, Samuel, 71, 551.

Morley, colonel Herbert, 711, 88, 931, 166, 190, 2011, 209, 223, 224.

Morpeth, Wales, 2091.

- Mounson, Sir John, 36.  
 Mounson, Sir Thomas, 36n.  
 Mountnorris, Sir Francis Annesley, 1st  
     viscount Valentia and lord, 240n.  
 Munster, Ireland, 7n, 35n, 229n.
- Nantes, Edict of, 112n.  
 Navy, *see* Fleet.  
 Neville, Henry, 93, 209.  
 Neville, Sir Henry, 93n.  
 Newark, Notts, 36n, 209, 229n.  
 Newcastle, Northumb, 113, 114, 115, 156,  
     168n, 209, 213n, 218.  
 Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffs, 29n  
 Newgate, London, 226.  
 'Newman, Mr', *pseudon.*, 19.  
 New Model Army, the, 19n, 246n.  
 Newport, Cornwall, 169n.  
 Newport, Isle of Wight, treaty of, 36n, 114n,  
     127n.  
 Newport Pagnell, Bucks, 18n.  
 Newport, Andrew, 7, 24n, 29, 42.  
 Newport, hon Francis, 25n.  
 Newport, Sir Richard, 7n.  
 Newton, Lancs, 98n.  
 Nicholas, Sir Edward, 11n, 19, 20n, 25, 28n,  
     32, 34, 60n, 66n, 75, 76, 81, 84, 118,  
     120, 150, 163, 177, 178, 187, 191, 193n,  
     198, 214, 236n, 244.  
 Nicholas, John, 81, 244.  
 Nicolls, Francis, 15n.  
 Nicolls, Richard, 15, 81n, 117, 129, 148, 151,  
     160, 161, 162, 164, 165, 170, 184, 187, 191.  
 Nieuport, Flanders, 142, 147, 148.  
 Norfolk, 16, 22n, 23, 31, 36, 77n, 93, 102, 148,  
     223, 246.  
 Norfolk, Thomas Howard, 5th duke of, 93n.  
 Northampton, Northants, 93, 102, 189, 242.  
 Northamptonshire, 15n, 18n, 19n, 55n, 77n,  
     81n, 88n, 93n, 102, 240n.  
 Northampton, Spencer Compton, 2nd earl of,  
     7n, 31n, 93n.  
 Northampton, James Compton, 3rd earl of,  
     31, 36, 37, 42, 51, 54, 56n, 93, 98, 102,  
     217, 229.  
 Northcote, John, 36n.  
 Northcote, Sir John, 36.  
 Northwich, Ches, 98.  
 Northumberland, 16n, 18n, 209n.  
 Northumberland, Algernon Percy, 10th earl  
     of, 127, 223.  
 Northumberland, Henry Percy, 9th earl of,  
     127n.  
 Norton, colonel Richard, 18, 24, 190.  
 Norwich, Sir John, 93.  
 Norwich, Sir Simon, 93n.  
 Norwood, major Henry, 55, 61.
- Nottinghamshire, 27n, 36n, 114n, 127n, 229n.  
 Nugent, colonel Richard, later 2nd earl of  
     Westmeath, 65n, 92, 123, 129, 139n,  
     141, 160, 161, 164, 165, 175, 188, 191,  
     192, 206, 208, 210, 218n, 238.
- Ogniate, Marc Albert de, burgomaster of  
     Bruges, 218, 240.  
 Onate, Jean Ayayola de, 218n  
 O'Neill, Con McNeill McFachartaigh, 139n.  
 O'Neill, Daniel, 76n, 139, 158, 219.  
 Orange, Mary Stuart, princess of, 58, 59, 63,  
     68, 142.  
 Orange, William prince of, later William III  
     of England, 59.  
 Orkney Islands, 88n.  
 Ormonde, Elizabeth, countess of, 140.  
 Ormonde, James Butler, 12th earl and  
     marquis of, later 1st duke of, 1n, 10, 11,  
     16, 19, 36, 60, 76n, 89n, 104, 126, 131,  
     132, 139n, 140n, 141, 158, 170, 176, 178,  
     179, 182, 184, 198, 205n, 210n.  
 Ormonde, William Butler, 11th earl of, 10n.  
 Ostend, Spanish Netherlands, 21, 34, 110.  
 Otway, John, 17n, 156n, 229n  
 Overton, John, sen., 77n.  
 Overton, colonel Robert, 77, 88, 93, 96, 108.  
 Oxford, 31n, 88, 109n, 200, 228.  
 Oxford, University of, 25n.  
 Oxford, Aubrey de Vere, 20th earl of, 31,  
     36, 60, 100, 117.  
 Oxford, Robert de Vere, 19th earl of, 31n.  
 Oxfordshire, 22n, 36n, 38n, 77n.
- Packer, colonel William, 88, 224n.  
 Palais royal, the, Paris, 15, 60n, 74, 117, 139,  
     158.  
 Palatinate, the, Germany, 112n.  
 Palatinate, Charles Louis, elector of the, 58n.  
 Palatinate, Louise, princess of the, 196.  
 Palatinate, Frederick V, elector of the, 58n.  
 Palatinate, Rupert, prince of the, 58.  
 Palatinate, Sophia, princess of the, 59, 185n.  
 Palmer, Sir Geoffrey, 18, 22, 38.  
 Palmer, Thomas, 18n.  
 Panton, John, 55n.  
 Panton, colonel Thomas, 55.  
 Papists, *see* Catholics.
- Paris, 15n, 36n, 61n, 72, 74, 82n, 85, 86, 91,  
     92, 96, 103, 108n, 114, 117, 123, 126,  
     139, 141, 158, 159, 161, 162, 163, 164,  
     166, 170, 172, 175, 179n, 183, 191, 208,  
     227, 232.  
 Parliament: of Richard Cromwell, 11n, 12;  
     Long Parliament, 1648, 127, 166; the  
     Rump: restored May 1659, 24, 26, 28;  
     relations with army, 35, 41n, 71, 77.

Parliament: (*continued*)

- 83, 92, 93, 100, 103, 107; expelled by Lambert, 104, 106, 107; supported by Monck, 88, 96, 108, 109; restored Dec. 1659, 165, 203, 206, 207, 209; weakness of, 209, 214.
- Parsons Green, Middlesex, *Introd.*, p. vii, 9.
- Paulden, Gregory, 55.
- Paulden, Thomas, 55n.
- Paulden, William, 55n.
- Pendennis Castle, Cornwall, 36n, 38n.
- Penruddock, John, 37.
- Penruddock, Sir John, 37n.
- Peronne, France, 87, 175.
- Perthshire, Scotland, 179n.
- Peterborough, Elizabeth, dowager countess of, *Introd.*, p. x, 123, 140n, 176, 201.
- Peterborough, John Mordaunt, 1st earl of, *Introd.*, p. x, 81, 123n, 223n, 233n.
- Peterborough, Henry Mordaunt, 2nd earl of, 123n, 223.
- Petersfield, Hants, 56.
- Pettus, Sir John, 86, 91n, 93.
- Peyton, Sir Samuel, 7n.
- Peyton, Sir Thomas, 7, 27, 31, 36, 38, 42, 88, 197, 222n, 230n.
- Phelips, colonel Robert, 117.
- Phelips, Sir Robert, 117n.
- Philip IV, of Spain, 15n, 21n, 34n, 74, 123, 126, 150, 218, 240.
- Picardy, France, 189.
- Pierrepont, Robert, 127n.
- Pierrepont, William, 127.
- Plunket, Nicholas, 139.
- Plymouth, Devon, 226n, 227.
- Pontefract, 18n.
- Pontoise, France, 196n.
- Pope, Sir William, 31n.
- Popham, colonel Alexander, 16, 20, 22, 31, 33, 36, 47, 91n, 93, 229.
- Popham, Sir Francis, 16n.
- Portland, isle of, 18n.
- Porter, lieut.-general George, 66, 127.
- Prynne, Thomas, 169n.
- Prynne, William, 169, 180, 240.
- Pye, Anne Hampden, lady, 246n.
- Pye, Sir Robert, sen., 246n.
- Pye, Sir Robert, 246.
- Pym, Sir Charles, 127.
- Pym, John, 127n.
- Pyrenees, peace of the, 12n, 19n, 54n, 59n, 65n, 70n, 73n, 89n, 112n, 123n, 150, 210n.
- Reading, Berks, 93n.
- Redman, colonel David, 17n.
- Regicides, 7, 29n, 83n, 88n, 114n, 127n.

- Reigate, Surrey, 4n, 41n, 201n.
- Republicans, 16, 20, 22, 29n, 61n, 77, 115, 120n, 233n.
- Richmond, Surrey, 55n.
- Robartes, John, lord, later 1st earl of Radnor, 36.
- Robartes, Richard, 1st baron, 36n.
- Robbe, mons., 146.
- Robinson, alderman John, 223, 227, 240.
- Rochester, Kent, 230.
- Rolle, Robert, sen., 36n.
- Rolle, Robert, 36.
- Rookwood, Robin, friar, 79.
- Rossiter, colonel Edward, 31, 36.
- Rossiter, Richard, 31n.
- Rota club, the, 93n.
- Rotterdam, Holland, 63n, 75.
- Rowe, Mr., 214n.
- Rowlandson, Mr. 26.
- Rumbold, William, 1n, 2n, 7, 16, 19, 20, 24, 25n, 26, 29, 32, 35, 36n, 43, 47n, 54, 55, 61, 62n, 63n, 66n, 97, 106, 117, 119, 121, 126, 137, 148, 150, 155, 158, 191, 205n, 206n, 212, 223n, 229, 230, 231, 239n, 243n.
- Rump, the, *see* Parliament.
- Rupert, prince, *see* Palatinate.
- Russell, John, 209.
- Russell, colonel John, 7n, 9n, 16, 19, 24, 31, 35, 36, 37, 55, 61, 66, 93, 98, 100, 117n, 148, 224n.
- Royalists, 8, 12, 18, 20, 22, 36n, 96, 100.
- St. Gregory, church of, London, 108n.
- St. Ives, Cornwall, 36n.
- St. Jean de Luz, France, 117n, 158n.
- St. John, Oliver, sen., 77n.
- St. John, Oliver, 77, 119, 127, 229, 239.
- St. John's college, Cambridge, 88n.
- St. John's college, Oxford, 108n.
- St. Malo, France, 38, 61.
- St. Omer, Flanders, 164, 175.
- St. Paul's cathedral, London, 88n.
- St. Sebastian, Spain, 76, 86, 89.
- Salazar, count, 218, 240.
- Salisbury, Wilts, 19n, 37n, 55n.
- Salmon, lieut.-colonel Edward, 108, 114, 190.
- Saltash, Cornwall, 11n.
- Salwey, Humphrey, 224n.
- Salwey, Richard, 224.
- Sandwich, Kent, 7n, 24, 88n.
- Sandys, colonel Samuel, 31.
- Saragoza, Spain, 60.
- Saye and Sele, William Fiennes, 1st viscount, 36.
- Scarborough, Yorks, 16n, 23n.

- Schomberg, Frederick Herman, general, later duke of, 65n, 92n, 112, 113, 124, 134n, 142, 146, 147, 151, 160n, 162, 164, 175, 210, 218n, 238n.
- Schomberg, Hans Meinhard von, 112n.
- Scot, Thomas, secretary of state, 79n, 83.
- Scotland, 12n, 19n, 77n, 88n, 108, 109, 112, 114, 119, 142, 148, 154, 155, 156, 165, 166, 189, 209, 248.
- Scots, the, 114, 156.
- Secluded members of parliament, the, 11n, 16n, 18n, 36n, 203, 209n, 218, 226n, 240n.
- Sexby, colonel Edward, 18n.
- Seymour, Sir Edward, 222n.
- Seymour, Henry, 222n.
- Seymour, John, 222n.
- Shrewsbury, Salop, 7n, 12, 16n, 31n, 36, 78.
- Shropshire, 7n, 25n, 77n.
- Slingsby, Arthur, 200n.
- Smith, Sir Thomas, 123n.
- Society of Jesus, the, 18n, 89n.
- Somerset, 4n, 11n, 16n, 41n, 117n, 124n, 169n.
- Sophia, princess, *see* Palatinate.
- Sound, the, 12n, 23.
- Southampton, Thomas Wriothesley, 4th earl of, 31, 217, 240, 242n.
- Spain, 18n, 19, 23, 24, 27, 32, 54, 60, 68, 69, 73, 74, 76, 78, 84, 89n, 95, 116, 138, 146, 156, 199, 206, 230n, 234.
- Spaniards, 73.
- Spanish Netherlands, the, 75n.
- Stafford, Staffs, 36n, 54.
- Staffordshire, 36n, 38.
- Stamford, Lincs, 18n, 209.
- Stanhope, Sir Henry, 31n.
- Stanhope, John, 36.
- Stanley, Mr., 147.
- Star Chamber, court of the, 169n.
- States-general of the United Provinces, 58n.
- Stephens, Sir John, 234n, 239, 243.
- Strafford, Thomas Wentworth, 1st earl of, 18n.
- Suffolk, 22n, 77n, 108n, 246.
- Surrey, 1n, 2n, 4n, 31, 36, 41n, 88n, 93n, 201n, 223.
- Sussex, 31, 36, 62n, 66n, 93n, 223.
- Sweden, Charles X, king of, 187.
- Talbot, colonel Gilbert, 18n.
- Talbot, John, 36.
- Talbot, Father Peter, S. J., 18, 27, 89.
- Talbot, colonel Richard, 18n.
- Talbot, Sherrington, 36n.
- Talbot, Father Tom, 18n.
- Talbot, Sir William, 18n.
- Tavistock, Devon, 7n, 127n.
- Tewkesbury, Gloucs, 32n, 240n.
- 'Thomas, Mr.', *pseudon.*, 124.
- 'Thornton, John', *pseudon.*, de Thou, President, 58n.
- Thurles, Thomas Viscount, 10n.
- Thurloe, John, secretary of state, 19, 77, 79n, 93, 96, 117, 127n.
- Thurloe, Thomas, 19n.
- Titus, Silius, sen., 16n.
- Titus, captain Silius, 13n, 16, 19, 20, 23, 24n, 29, 31, 32, 35, 36, 38, 42, 44, 47, 54, 63n, 65, 66, 67n, 75, 81n, 85, 91, 96, 99, 137, 172, 214.
- Totnes, Devon, 77n.
- Toulouse, France, 60n, 158n, 232n.
- Tower of London, the, 7n, 18n, 19n, 31n, 36n, 61n, 77n, 88, 93, 152n, 154, 190, 209n, 216, 246.
- Townshend, Sir Horatio, 16, 18, 22, 24, 36, 53.
- Townshend, Sir Roger, 16n.
- Turenne, Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, vicomte de, 38n, 61, 62, 64, 70n, 71, 73n, 77, 81n, 87, 94, 95, 103n, 105, 108, 110n, 111, 112, 114, 124, 134, 142, 146, 155n, 156n, 159, 170, 171, 175, 187, 189.
- Turvey, Beds, 81n.
- Tynemouth, Northum, 148, 168n.
- Tyringham, Sir John, 36n.
- Tyringham, colonel William, 36.
- Ulster, 88n.
- Uxbridge, treaty of, 36n, 240n.
- Val, Thomas de la, 129, 162.
- Vane, Sir Henry, sen., 36n.
- Vane, Sir Henry, 36, 39, 61, 77, 88, 93, 96, 100, 103, 114, 209, 224, 242.
- Venables, Robert, 22n.
- Venables, colonel Robert, 22.
- 'Verdone', France, 87.
- Vernon, Edward, 36.
- Vernon, Sir Edward, 36n.
- Vienna, Austria, 226.
- Villiers, Edward, 19n, 35.
- Villiers, Sir Edward, president of Munster, 35n, 229n.
- Vincent, Alderman, 246n.
- Wakefield, Yorks, 55n.
- Wales, 31, 38, 61, 77n, 98n, 108, 148, 189, 200, 209n.
- Waller, Sir Hardress, 127n, 207n.
- Waller, Sir Thomas, 11n.
- Waller, Sir William, 11, 13n, 16, 18, 19, 27, 31n, 36, 57, 152, 200, 203n, 240n.
- Walter, David, 55.
- Walton, colonel Valentine, 166n.
- Warwick, Charles Rich, 4th earl of, 31, 36.

- Warwick, Robert Rich, 2nd earl of, 31n.  
 Warwick, Robert Rich, 3rd earl of, 31n.  
 Warwick Castle, 31, 36n.  
 Warwickshire, 31n, 207.  
 Watson, captain Henry, 88.  
 Weaver, John, 209.  
 Westmeath, Richard Nugent, 1st earl of, 92n.  
 Westminster, 142, 148, 246.  
 Westmorland, 18n, 88n.  
 Weymouth, Dorest, 98n.  
 Wheeler, colonel Charles, 219.  
 Whetham, colonel Nathaniel, 166n.  
 Whitcroft, Sir John, 38.  
 Whitehall, 63.  
 Whitelocke, Bulstrode, 31n, 137.  
 Whitelocke, Sir James, sen., 137n.  
 Whitelock, Sir James, jun., 31.  
 Whitley, colonel Roger, 66, 98, 110, 123, 147, 148, 163.  
 Whitley, Thomas, 66n.  
 Wickham, Tobias, 47, 54.  
 Wicklow, Ireland, 31n.  
 Wight, isle of, 36, 114, 124n, 127, 148, 203.  
 Wilde, Dr. George, later bishop of Derry, 108.  
 Wilde, Henry, 108n.  
 Wilde, Sir William, 206n.  
 Wildman, Sir John, 16, 18n, 203n.  
 Willis, Sir Richard, 7n, 9n, 15n, 16, 19, 25, 35, 36, 44n, 55, 61, 66, 79, 92, 100n, 108, 117, 137, 148, 153, 187, 224, and Appendix.  
 Willoughby, Francis, lord of Parham, 7, 18, 27, 29, 33, 38, 42, 55, 66n.  
 Willoughby, William, 3rd baron of Parham, 7n.  
 Wiltshire, 16n, 19n, 32n, 37n, 88n, 187, 214.  
 Winchelsea, Heneage Finch, 2nd earl of, 24, 27.  
 Winchelsea, Thomas Finch, 1st earl of, 24n.  
 Winchelsea, Sussex, 233n.  
 Windsor, 213.  
 Windsor Castle, 7n, 16n, 18n, 22, 30n, 31, 189, 203, 228n.  
 Windsor, Thomas, 7th baron of Stanwell, 31.  
 Winnington bridge, battle of, 18n.  
 Wolseley, Sir Charles, 38, 54.  
 Wolseley, Sir Robert, 38n.  
 Woolley, Dr., 224n.  
 Woolley, Mr., 224.  
 Worcester, 31n, 36n, 117n.  
 Worcestershire, 31, 36n, 55n, 224n.  
 Wrey, Sir Chichester, 36.  
 Wrey, Sir William, 36n.  
 'Wright, Mr.', *pseudon.*, for Rumbold, 55n, 63, 243.  
 Wroth, Henry, 31n.  
 Wroth, Sir Henry, 31, 36.  
 Wycombe, Bucks, 16n.  
 Yarmouth, 31n.  
 Yelverton, Sir Christopher, 23n.  
 Yelverton, Sir Henry, 93, 102, 156, 189n.  
 York, 203, 209n.  
 York, James Stuart, duke of: household of, 15n, 187; plans to land in England for the rising of 1659, 27, 28; offered assistance by Turenne, 38, 61, 145n; at Boulogne, 61; at Breda, 59, 63, 68, 75, 148; at Brussels, 59, 63, 84, 172; at Antwerp, 103; engaged with Mordaunt and Turenne in designs for securing Dunkirk, 73, 77, 175, 191; suggested marriage with Lambert's daughter, 80, 84, 150; discourages a rising during the King's absence in Spain, 126, 138; letters to, 72, 77, 83, 109, 115; letters from, 73, 125, 138.  
 Yorkshire, 18n, 19n, 36, 203n, 207.